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Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years. To interpret history from this viewpoint is historical materialism; standing in opposition to this viewpoint is historical idealism.

It is necessary to grasp class struggle in the sphere of ideology.

*

Publisher's Note

The bourgeois careerist, conspirator, double-dealer, renegade and traitor Lin Piao was an out-and-out disciple of Confucius. Like all reactionaries in history on the verge of extinction, he worshipped Confucius and opposed the Legalist school, attacked Ch'in Shih Huang, the first emperor of the Ch'in Dynasty, and used the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius as his reactionary ideological weapon in plotting to usurp Party leadership and seize state power and restore capitalism.

To meet the needs of the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the cadres for penetratingly criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, we have compiled and publish the "Collection of Articles in Criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius" for use as reference material. We shall continue to compile and publish articles in this connection.

*

Confucius--The Thinker Who Stubbornly Defends the System of Slavery

by

Yang Jung-kuo (杨荣国)

What kind of a person is after all Confucius who has for more than 2,000 years been honored all the time by the ruling classes as the "sage"?

Lenin pointed out: "When analyzing any social problem, the absolute demand of Marxist-Leninist theory is to refer to it within a given historical framework." ("On Right of National Autonomy") In order to analyze Confucius with the historical materialist viewpoint, it certainly is necessary to take a look at what class did Confucius stand for and the interests of which class did his thought serve in accordance with situation of the class struggle at that time.

The Political Stand of Confucius

Confucius (551 B.C.-479 B.C.), a citizen of the State of Lu, was a descendant of the Yin clan of slave-owning aristocrats in declining circumstances. He lived at the late stage of the period of Spring and Autumn Annals (770 B.C.-476 B.C.). Due to the practice of ruthless exploitation and oppression by the slave-owners, the slaves offered uninterrupted resistance. For example, in the year 550 B.C., the slaves engaged in the building of city walls staged a riot in the State of Ch'en; in the year 520 B.C. the "craftsmen" of the household of the King of Chou (mostly handicraft slaves) rose in insurrection; in the year 478 B.C., the handicraft slaves in the State of Wei engineered an encirclement campaign against Duke Chuang of Wei, and eight years afterward, they again rose up and drove away Marquis Che of Wei. By means of running away or staging armed uprisings, the slaves offered resistance that fundamentally rocked the rule of the slave-owning aristocrats. The system of slavery was on the brink of collapse, and the emerging landlord class and the declining slave-owning aristocracy were locked in struggle. This was the main class contradiction and class struggle at the time.

On which side did Confucius stand? The following events can be used to shed light on this question.

At the time, driven by the class struggle forces of the slaves and the masses of the people, changes began to take place in the system of land ownership. Originally, in the states of Yin and Chou based on the system of slavery, all land was owned by the head of the slave-owning aristocrats--the Son of Heaven (royal household), and the feudal princes (principalities), ministers, officials and slave-owners of other grades enjoyed only the privilages of using but did not own privately the land conferred and bestowed on them. That was why such land was called "public land." In the middle decades of the period of Spring and Autumn Annals, there rose some newly emerging forces of the feudal landlord class. They reclaimed more and more private land which could be bought and sold privately. At first, the royal household did not recognize such private land. Subsequently, in order to get rid of its financial difficulties, it was compelled to tax the private land and recognize the feudal system of private ownership of land. The State of Lu in which Confucius lived enforced the "first taxed mow" in the year 594 B.C. This signalled the transformation of the slavery system of land ownership into the feudal system of land ownership, and from then on there appeared the new production relations between the landlords and the tenant peasants as well as those of the owner-farmers transformed from poor peasants, thereby giving rise to the development of individual economy.

At the time, the three households of Chi Sun, Meng Sun and Shu Sun were the representatives of the new emerging forces in the State of Lu. In the year 562 B.C. they "divided the principality into three parts," and the Chi Sun household adopted a new system of taxation. Twenty-five years afterward, they again "divided the principality into four parts," and on that occasion, Meng Sun and Shu Sun also followed the example of Chi Sun in adopting the system of taxation, thereby changing the production relations. This indicated the attack of the developing feudal system against the collapsing system of slavery, and was a progressive action.

What attitude did Confucius adopt toward this event?

He was of the opinion that Chi Sun, Meng Sun and Shu Sun were originally also slave owners and officials, but instead of sticking to their duties, they undermined the traditional system of slavery adopted since the Shang Dynasty. This could hardly be tolerated! Therefore, he devised all ways and means to weaken the influence of these three households so as to uphold the rule of the slave owners of the principality in the State of Lu.

At the time, Jan Ch'iu, a disciple of Confucius, was helping the Chi Sun household to carry out reforms. Confucius was so indignant that he accused Jan Ch'iu of having betrayed the "code of the Duke of Chou," in other words, the laws and institutions of slave society (Tso Chuan, the 11th year of the Duke Ai). Confucius declared that he no longer recognized Jan Ch'iu as his disciple, and called on his disciple to "beat the drum and assail him," thereby launching an encirclement campaign against Jan Ch'iu. (Confucian Analects: Hsien Chin)

What system did Confucius defend and what system did he oppose? This is more than clear!

A similar occurrence also took place in the State of Ch'i. The representative of the emerging forces in the State of Ch'i was T'ien Ch'eng-tzu (in ancient times, "T'ien" and "Ch'en" are one and the same surname, and consequently, he was also called Ch'en Ch'eng-tzu). For the purpose of opposing the decadent aristocratic influence of the slave-owners in the State of Ch'i, he adopted the method of lending grain with the big tou and collecting grain with the small tou to win over the masses. Finally, in the year 485 B.C., he slayed Duke Chien of Ch'i, the leading slave-owner and aristocrat in the State of Ch'i. Confucius was opposed to this and he strongly advised Duke Ai of Lu to send troops on a punitive campaign. Duke Ai of Lu dared not take this course of action because he knew that his weak forces were no match for the State of Ch'i.

The third event was Confucius' opposition to the casting of the tripod of penal law.

At the time, due to the continued resistance of the slaves and the rise of the feudal forces, the original "rule of propriety" of the system of slavery could no longer be maintained and had to be replaced by "rule of law." The "rule of propriety" of the system of slavery in fact prescribed the social ranks of and the relations between the slave-owners and the slaves. The slave-owners were the rulers of the slaves and their will was the law. They could oppress and exploit the slaves at will and even slaughter them. The slaves could only obey without question and were not allowed to resist. This was so-called "rule of propriety." But at the time, the slaves had become so disobedient that they offered resistance everywhere. Seeing this trend, some people with a progressive tendency knew that it was necessary to transform the old ruling method and to prescribe certain laws governing the relations between the aristocrats and the slaves called the "criminal code" for imposing certain restrictions on the slave-owners. At the time, the criminal code was cast on a tripod for everybody to see, and this was called "casting the tripod of penal

law." Subsequently, this developed to become the superstructure of feudal society--the law. Those who advocated the "rule of law" were the legalists representing the emerging feudal forces.

Confucius was also firmly opposed to this. In the year 513 B.C., the Chin people cast a tripod of penal law. After he heard of this, he expressed his disapproval saying: By mixing together the aristocrats and the slaves, how can the dignity and greatness of the aristocrats be manifested? In this way, there is not a bit of difference between the eminent and the humble. How can the state remain to be based on the system of slavery? (Tso Chuan, 29th year of Duke Chao)

The fourth event was the execution of Shao Cheng-mao by Confucius.

Confucius had wanted to be an official all his life so that he could realize his set of reactionary political ideals. But up to the year 497 B.C., he managed to serve as the Minister of Crime and concurrently as acting Prime Minister for no more than three months in the State of Lu. Seven days after he assumed office, he arrested and executed Shao Cheng-mao, a well-known reformist of that time in the State of Lu.

Originally, the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals and the Warring States was a period in which a hundred schools of thought contended, and the thinkers representing different classes had founded schools for debating purposes. Both Shao Cheng-mao and Confucius recruited disciples and preached their doctrines in the State of Lu. They represented two schools with fundamentally antagonistic views. The execution of Shao Cheng-mao by Confucius actually gave expression to the class struggle at the time. Please see how Confucius announced the charges against Shao Cheng-mao. (See Hsün Tzu: Tso Yu)

Confucius said: Persons committing any of the following five offenses should be sentenced to death:

1. Anyone who has a clear knowledge of the changes in ancient and modern times and understands the evolution of things is liable to take a dangerous course;

2. Anyone who does not follow the correct course of the system of slavery and stubbornly traverses the so-called road of reform;

3. Anyone who is able to eloquently justify his arguments for reform;

4. Anyone who has too great a knowledge of the phenomena of corruption and instability arising from the rule of the system of slavery;

5. Anyone who speaks sternly and forcefully for the cause of opposing the system of slavery.

Confucius said: Since Shao Cheng-mao have committed all of these five offenses, there is no alternative but to order his execution. In accordance with these five offenses, he indicted him for

1. Gathering a mob and forming an association;

2. Advertising heresies;

3. Confusing right and wrong.

The reforms advocated by Shao Cheng-mao were in conformity with historical development and the aspirations of the masses. After Confucius ordered the execution of Shao Cheng-mao, even his disciple Tzu Kung suspected that it was wrong. ("Family Instructions of Confucius") At the time, the masses of the people loved with special respect Shao Cheng-mao and eulogized him as an outstanding character.

These few things are enough to show that Confucius stubbornly stood on the side of the system of slavery on the brink of collapse and was firmly opposed to the reforms advocated by the emerging feudal system.

During the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals, 52 states based on the system of slavery had perished one after another and the system of slavery was daily disintegrating. At the time, Confucius put forward the slogan: "Revive states that had been extinguished, restore families whose line of succession had been broken, and call to office those who had retired into obscurity. (Confucian Analects: Yao Yüeh) He wanted to revive the states based on the system of slavery that had been extinguished, restore the reins of power to the aristocratic slave-owners, and call to office again those aristocratic slave-owners who had fallen. This was an out-and-out political slogan for restoring the old. Confucius wanted to take this as his "own responsibility" "until his death." The people were disgusted with him and a gatekeeper abused him as not knowing the current trend ("He knows the impracticable nature of the times and yet will be doing in them." [Confucian Analects: Hsien Wen]), and a reactionary character who went against the times. Confucius and his disciples went everywhere to drum up support, but the masses in some places surrounded and attacked them. They were so scared that they ran away like "homeless dogs." This was a deserving punishment for Confucius who took the reactionary stand.

Confucius' Thought--"Virtue"

The core of Confucian thought is "virtue." Such "virtue" was originally the ideology of the slave-owning class of the Ying and Chou dynasties.

For the sake of consolidating the solidarity of the slave-owning class and the rule of the slave-owning aristocrats, the slave-owning rulers of the Yin and Chou dynasties had advocated "virtue." It has now been discovered by archaeology that the word "virtue" had already appeared in the writings on oracle bones. The slave-owners advocated "virtue" because they needed fraternity and solidarity among the members of the slave-owning class. At the same time, they also wanted to hoodwink the enslaved laboring people into submission to the rulers without resistance. ("Embrace virtue" [History of Shang: T'ai Chia Hsia]) Didn't the Duke of Chou, whom Confucius worshipped most as the "sage," describe himself as virtuous and obedient to his ancestors? ("As virtuous as my ancestors." [History of Chou: Chin T'eng]) As they saw it, so long as all members of the slave-owning class were able to draw close to and love each other and to obey their clannish ancestors, the rule of the slave-owning aristocrats could be consolidated and made to last. Therefore, their conclusion was that "virtuousness to clansmen" was a "treasure." (Book of Rites: T'an Kung) It could be seen that the slave-owners attached great importance to "virtue."

Confuicus methodically summed up and gave free scope to "virtue." He provided "virtue" with a good number of contents, including filial piety and brotherly subordination, loyalty and forgiveness, rectification of names, morality, wisdom, etc. Through analyzing these contents, we can see the interests of which class were served by the Confucian thought.

Confucius inducted that "filial piety" and "brotherly subordination" formed the roots of "virtue."

Why? This was because the ancient society based on the system of slavery was ruled by clannish aristocrats. As the ruling class, the slave-owners belonged to the same clan and had their common ancestors. Confucius felt that the contradiction among the slave-owners was very acute at the time and the struggle among them would lead to the collapse of the rule of the slave-owners. He therefore declared that so long as all slave-owners were able to fulfill their duties to their ancestors and parents, it was possible to unite the slave-owners vertically. By making brothers draw close to and love

each other through the practice of "brotherly subordination," it was possible to unite the slave-owners horizontally. When the slave-owning class was vertically and horizontally united as one, the tendency to offend one's superiors and stir up confusion would not arise, and the object of consolidating the rule of the clannish slave-owning aristocrats could be attained. Meanwhile, the practice of "filial piety" and "brotherly subordination" among the slave-owner also could affect the slaves and make them more virtuous. ("The virtue of the people will resume its proper excellence." [Confucian Analects: Hsueh Erh]) They would behave themselves and submit to the rule of the slave-owners.

What was called "loyalty," "forgiveness" was also entirely for serving the interests of the slave-owners. In advocating "loyalty," Confucius wanted the slaves to be loyal to the slave-owners, the officials to be loyal to the feudal princes, and the feudal princes to be loyal to the King of Chou for the purpose of consolidating the rule of the slave-owners at various levels. He advocated "forgiveness" and preached, "Do not do to others what you would not wish done to yourself," (Confucian Analects: Yen Yüan) but he never meant the practice of forgiveness toward the slaves and only meant the practice of forgiveness toward the down-fallen slave-owners. Confucius himself was a descendant of the down-fallen slave-owning aristocrats, and when he was young, he had taken up many kinds of employment that were regarded as lowly, such as store-keeping and animal husbandry. He was quite capable of taking into consideration people of his kind. He urged that the down-fallen slave-owners should not be excessively reprimanded for lack of perfection, ("He does not seek in one man talents for every employment." [Confucian Analects: Wei Tzu]) that they ought not be forsaken so long as they had not committed major mistakes, and that all slave-owners should unite as one "without forsaking their old friends" so as to prevent the slaves from rising in insurrection.

As has been described above, the period of Spring and Autumn Annals was an era of major reforms. At the time, the emerging feudal forces had reared their heads. For example, the Chi Sun family of the State of Lu and the T'ien family of the State of Ch'i both attacked the reactionary rule of the slave-owning aristocrats by changing the original production relations and undermining the "rule of propriety" of the system of slavery. Confucius was of the opinion that these emerging forces were not virtuous because they were unable to subdue their own desires and restrain their own actions. He therefore brought forward the method of "subduing self and returning to propriety" that had been in force since the Yin and Chou dynasties. (Tso Chuan: "Confucius said: The ancient records also state that subduing self and returning to propriety is a virtue.) He told his disciple Yen Yüan: "If a man can subdue himself and return to propriety, all under heaven will ascribe perfect virtue to him." So long as all slave-owners could subdue their own desires and actions and restore the rule of propriety, the slaves also would behave themselves and submit to their rule. This was called "all under heaven will ascribe virtue to him." In this way, the rule of the slave-owners could be consolidated.

Therefore, Confucius also shouted at the top of his voice for the "rectification of names." (Confucian Analects: Tzu Lu)

What is "rectification of names"? It means the use of subjective ideas ("names") to define and confine objective existence.

This was because under the ruthless rule of the slave-owners, with the slaves continuously staging uprisings, with the emerging feudal forces rearing their heads and with the production relations incessantly changing, the social order based on the system of slavery had been thrown into confusion ("with propriety collapsing and music undermined"). At the time, government orders and army orders could no longer be issued from the King of Chou--the supreme ruler of the slave-owners. The powers of the feudal princes in different states also became questionable and some of their powers had fallen

into the hands of the officials. On the other hand, people like Shao Cheng-mao also established liaison with the people, practiced the freedom of assembly and association, and wantonly criticized the authorities. The situation of "the sovereign no longer behaving as the sovereign, the minister as the minister, the father as the father and the son as the son" had arisen. How could this be tolerated? Therefore, Confucius decided to use the set of subjective ideas that had been adopted by the slave-owning class since the Yin and Chou dynasties to define and confine the changing social existence so as to restore the order of "letting the sovereign be a sovereign, the minister be a minister, the father be a father and the son be a son" in a vain attempt to avert the disintegration of the rule of the slave-owning aristocrats.

It was said that he also wrote a contemporary history of the time called "Spring and Autumn Annals" because of this. Later, Mencius said that after Confucius had written this history, those "rebellious ministers and villainous sons" were struck with terror. Because it was written with the viewpoint of rectification of names, it sought to rectify the social order that had already changed and to restore the old order. Mencius lauded Confucius saying that by writing the "Spring and Autumn Annals" to rectify the disorderly names, Confucius was exercising the supreme power for the King of Chou--to consolidate the rule of the system of slavery. Therefore, this was an event of major importance worthy of great publicity. (Works of Mencius: T'eng Wen Kung Part II)

In point of fact, this was nothing more than another expression of the stubborn stand of Confucius.

This was also what Confucius called the work of "virtue."

In talking about "moral excellence"--"the government must administer" "with moral excellence," Confucius also did not mean good government for the enslaved working people, for good government was only practiced within the slave-owning class. Hsun Tzu's "On Propriety" said that the educated superior men--the slave-owners of higher and lower ranks--mainly lived in the cities, while the people--slaves--mostly lived outside the cities. At the time, it was said that "moral excellence is applied in the middle kingdom, while punishment is used to terrify the barbarians." (Tso Chuan, 25th year of Duke Hsi) The "middle kingdom" referred to the cities. This also meant that moral excellence could be applied only to the slave-owners of higher and lower ranks living in the cities, but punishment could only be used to deal with the enslaved working people living outside the cities. By using the whip to deal with the working people, this was the "government or moral excellence" of the slave-owners!

Confucius was of the view that "virtue" also included "wisdom"--knowledge. He tried his utmost to advertise that "there are only the wise of the highest class and the stupid of the lowest class who cannot be changed." (Confucian Analects: Yang Huo) This meant to say that the "sage" was a genius of the highest order, while the slaves were nothing more than serfs of the lowest class. One was absolutely wise, while the other was absolutely stupid, and these two classes also could never be changed by whatever means. From where did the so-called knowledge of the genius come? He said: "Those who are born with the possession of knowledge are the highest class of men." (Confucian Analects: Chi Shih) He thought that the knowledge of a "sage" was inborn and did not come from practice. Confucius thus bare-facedly advocated idealist transcendentalism and the reactionary fallacy the "heroes are the makers of history."

Therefore, Confucius despised very much productive labor. When his disciple Fan Ch'ih wanted to learn knowledge of farm labor, Confucius was very angry and said: "This is something for the slaves, and I won't touch it." He abused Fan Ch'ih as a "mean man." (Confucian Analects: Tzu Lu) How did the working people reply to him? An old peasant saw Confucius when he was hoeing

the field, and he said that Confucius was nothing more than someone "whose four limbs are unaccustomed to toil and who cannot distinguish the five kinds of grain" and who would only lead the life of a parasite. (Confucian Analects: Wei Tzu) This was the most correct appraisal of Confucius.

Confucius talked about many "virtues," but he excluded the slaves and other enslaved working people from "virtue." As he saw it, the slaves could only take orders and be enslaved, and could never be allowed to know any truth. ("The people may be made to follow a path of action, but they may not be made to understand it." [Confucian Analects: T'ai Po]) He abused them as "birds and beasts" and it was below the dignity of the slave-owners and aristocratic lords to associate with them. (Confucian Analects: Wei Tzu) He especially despised the women. He thought that both male and female slaves were most difficult to keep and to behave to, and it was necessary to maintain a reserve toward them. (Confucian Analects: Yang Huo) He was of the view that there could be persons who were not virtuous among the slave-owners, but it was fundamentally impossible to have virtuous people among the slaves and the enslaved working people. ("The Master said, 'Superior men, and yet not always virtuous, there have been alas! But there never has been a mean man, and, at the same time, virtuous.'" [Confucian Analects: Hsien Wen])

It can be seen from this that the saying of Confucius, "The perfectly virtuous embrace all in their love," is entirely deceitful talk. He did not embrace all (including the slaves) in his love, and he loved only the slave-owing class. He also talked about "overflowing in love to all" as though his love was so widespread as to cover all. In point of fact, however, because of social reforms, the word "all" at the time no longer covered the slaves as was the case in the early days of the Shang and Western Chou dynasties, but referred only to the "princes, teachers and ministers." (Book of Rites: "Ch'ü Li" as annotated by Cheng Hsüan) Therefore, he still embraced only the slave-owning class in love.

Chairman Mao points out: "As for so-called love of humanity, there has been no such all-inclusive love since humanity was divided into classes. All the ruling classes of the past were fond of advocating it, and so were many so-called sages and wise men, but nobody has ever really practiced it, because it is impossible in class society." ("Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art") We must never be fooled by Confucius. Although he used quite a number of high-sounding terms such as "regulating one's relatives," "reporting merits," "appointing the virtuous," "employing the capable," "embracing love," such "good government" could only be applied within the slave-owning class and had "nothing to do with the people." (Book of Rites: Ta Chuan) The slaves were not included, and they could only be enslaved, whipped and slaughtered.

From the simple analysis made above, it can be seen that although Confucius talked extravagantly about "virtue, righteousness and morality, when laid bare, all his ideas were aimed at serving the interests of the aristocratic class of the slave-owners in the process of disintegration.

At the time, the scholars of the Confucian school who opposed Confucius were Hsun Tzu who took the progressive stand of the feudal class and his disciple Han Fei and other scholars of the legalist school. The struggle between the Confucian school and the legalist school in the early days of the Ch'in Dynasty gave expression to the class struggle on the ideological front at that time. In this connection, I had already written a special article for exaplanation in Hung-ch'i, No. 12, 1972, and I do not propose to discuss the matter further here.

Confucius was at the time standing on the side of the slave-owning aristocrats in the process of disintegration and was opposed to the emerging feudal forces. The essence of his thought was to uphold the rule of the slave-owning class and to demonstrate that the working people could only be exploited,

enslaved and ruled. In one word, he wanted to demonstrate that "exploitation was justified and rebellion was a crime." Consequently, although the subsequent exploiting classes, be they the feudal landlord class or the bourgeoisie, might oppose Confucius and call for "toppling the Confucian school" before they came to power, they invariably wanted to make use of the thought of Confucius to hoodwink the working people and to serve their reactionary rule once they came to power and became the reactionary ruling class. Because of this, Confucius has for more than 2,000 years all along been honored as the "most holy sage." Only by taking the proletarian stand and applying the historical materialist viewpoint of Marxism can the reactionary essence of Confucius be exposed.

Chairman Mao teaches us "Contemporary China has grown out of the China of the past; we are Marxist in our historical approach and must not lop off our history. We should sum up our history from Confucius to Sun Yat-sen and take over this valuable legacy. This is important for guiding the great movement of today." ("The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War")

In order to evaluate a historical figure with the Marxist viewpoint, it is first necessary to analyze the class contradiction and class struggle of the time and see whether he stood on the side of the progressive class and favored reform or stood on the side of the reactionary class and advocated conservatism under the condition of historical development of the time. The task of a Marxist is to unremittingly turn the wheel of history forward. We have to affirm only things that have played a progressive role in history, and must firmly negate and criticize and repudiate the reactionary and conservative things. To criticize and repudiate the reactionary thought of Confucius would be of help to our participating in the actual class struggle--especially in the class struggle for grasping the ideological realm of the superstructure.

(Originally carried in Jen-min Jih-pao, Aug. 7, 1973)

* * *

The Struggle of Materialism Against Idealist Transcendentalism in the Times of the Former Han and Later Han Dynasties

by

Yang Jung-kuo (杨荣国)

Lenin said that idealism "is the weapon and propaganda tool of the reactionaries." ("Our Liquidationist Faction") The publicity of transcendentalism by idealist philosophers in history was utilized by the reactionary ruling class of the time as the "weapon" and "propaganda tool" to hoodwink and benumb the masses of the people for the purpose of consolidating its reactionary rule.

In the Chinese history of philosophy, did the philosophers advocate cultivation behind closed doors to learn from experience the so-called goodness of the transcendentalism and the so-called law of nature, or that it was necessary to contact things of the external world with sense organs before a knowledge of things of the external world could be acquired ("Anything known to the mind" "will be recorded by the celestial officials." [Hsun Tzu's Rectification of Names])? This was a struggle between the two lines in philosophy, a struggle between idealist transcendentalism and the materialist theory of knowledge. This struggle was carried through from beginning to end in the Chinese history of philosophy. In pre-Ch'in times, the struggle between the two lines in philosophy was most violent. By the times of the Former Han and Later Han dynasties, this struggle between the two lines in philosophy continued to develop.

The period of the Former Han and Later Han dynasties (Western Han extended from 206 B.C. to 23 A.D.; Eastern Han extended from 25 to 220 A.D.) was in the form of feudal society in which the feudal production relations had been established, but there were still the vestiges of the system of slavery. At the time, the families holding official ranks for generations and the influential families were mostly the descendants of the slave-owning aristocratic rulers of various states in the period of Spring and Autumn Annals and Warring States. They had in their service large numbers of slaves for conducting industrial and commercial activities, and were rather influential. For example the "Gazetteer of the History of Han" mentions that "in Taiyuan and Shangtang, there were many descendants of the princes of the State of Chin who subverted each other by means of deceit and force, bragged about their ranks" and ran wild. The feudal ruling class of the Han Dynasty was antagonistic to these families holding official ranks for generations and influential families and adopted certain measures to suppress them. But at the same time, because of the common interests of the exploiting classes, the feudal ruling class also collaborated with these families in ruthlessly exploiting and oppressing the working people.

At the time, the principal contradiction in society was the contradiction between the feudal landlords, the families holding official ranks for generations and the influential families on the one hand and the masses of the people on the other. Under the reign of Emperor Wu of Han, although the independence of the feudal princes had ended and the feudal rule of the centralized government was superficially further consolidated, yet because the working people were ruthlessly oppressed and squeezed, more than half of the homeless vagrants died, and the masses rose to offer resistance. (History of Han: "Biography of Hsia-hou Sheng") In the year 99 B.C. armed uprisings by the peasants erupted at Hsüpo and other places in Shantung. The insurgents stormed cities, seized arms, released the convicts and toppled and

slaughtered the officials, thereby rocking the feudal ruling class as a whole at the time. (Tsu-chih T'ung-chien 資治通鑒, Vol. XXI, also History of Han: "Records of Emperor Wu")

It was precisely because of the need of the feudal ruling class at the time to further consolidate the rule of a centralized government that Tung Chung-shu's (董仲舒) set of reactionary philosophical theories appeared.

Tung Chung-shu and "Pai-hu T'ung-i's (白虎通义) Transcendentalism

Tung Chung-shu (179 B.C.-104 B.C.) was aware of the fact that although the thoughts of the pre-Ch'in scholars Confucius and Mencius were originally for defending the slave-owning aristocratic class in the process of disintegration, provided they were slightly revised, they could entirely be used to serve the feudal ruling class. He therefore recommended banning the activities of all other schools "by removing the hundred schools of thought and honoring only the Confucian teachings." Emperor Wu of Han accepted his recommendation in a desire to consolidate the feudal rule of the centralized government through strengthening the ideological rule.

In his memorandum to Emperor Wu of Han called "Attitude toward Appointing the Virtuous and the Worthy" and in his book entitled Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu (春秋繁露), Tung Chung-shu advertised the mychical theory of the positive and the negative and the five primary elements. He ascribed all things in the world, including the rule of the feudal sovereign, to purposeful arrangements by Heaven. In this way, he bridged the gap between divine right and imperial power, brought into play Mencius' school of thought, "unity of God and man," and created the theoretical basis for "the divine right of the sovereign." For the purpose of anchoring the feudal order, he put forward the "three bonds." He described "the relations between the rulers and the subject, father and son, husband and wife" as arrangements by Heaven that absolutely could not be changed. This gave rise to the sacred and inviolable moral dogmas that had prevailed in Chinese feudal society for more than 2,000 years. Chairman Mao points out: "These four authorities--political, clan, religious and masculine--are the embodiment of the whole feudal-patriarchal system and ideology, and are the four thick ropes binding the Chinese people." ("Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan")

To advertise idealist transcendentalism, Tung Chung-shu had to create a basis from the angle of the theory of knowledge for his set of reactionary political theories.

Tung Chung-shu brought into play Confucius and Mencius' transcendentalism and put forward the theory of "three grades of natural property." He divided man's natural property into three kinds: "the natural property of the sage," "the natural property of peck and hamper people," and "the natural property of people in the middle." Among them, only those with the "natural property of people in the middle" could gradually be made good through inculcation and study. "The natural property of the sage" of the upper grade marked by "honesty, love without distinction, sincerity and propriety" (Fan-lu: "Shen-ch'a Ming-hao") was an inborn virtue. As regards "the natural property of peck and hamper people," the term "peck and hamper," which meant mean and lowly, was used to refer to the enslaved working people. They were born stupid by nature and could only submit to the rule of the "sage."

Didn't Confucius abuse these "lowly people" as so lowly and mean that they were not worthy to be mentioned ("There are so many pecks and hampers, not worth being taken into account." Confucian Analects: Tzu Lu)? Therefore, Tung Chung-shu's theory of "three grades of natural property" was actually a reprint of the fallacies preached by Confucius who talked about "the wise of the highest class" and "the stupid of the lowest class" (Confucian Analects:

Yang Huo) and declared: "To those whose talents are above mediocrity, the highest subjects may be announced. To those who are below mediocrity, the highest subjects may not be announced." (Confucian Analects: Yung Yeh) In their eyes, the "sages" were born to be virtuous and were absolutely wise, while the "peck and hamper people" were born to be wicked and were absolutely stupid. Therefore, the former should take the high place as rulers, and the latter could only be oppressed and enslaved. These were inborn and determined by fate and absolutely could not be changed. Transcendentalism was thus used to demonstrate that the order of feudal rule was absolutely "rational."

Toward the end of the Western Han Dynasty, the insurrection of the "red-eyebrow" peasants toppled the feudal rule of the time and also struck blows at the influence of the families holding official ranks for generations and the influential families. However, the representative of the landlord class Liu Hsiu (Emperor Kuang Wu of Han) availed of the opportunity to seize the fruit of victory of the peasant uprising and set up the Eastern Han regime. Under the reign of Emperor Chang in the Eastern Han Dynastery, for the purpose of further consolidating ideologically the feudal rule of the centralized government, a conference of Confucian scholars was convened at the White Tiger Temple to discuss how classic writings should be interpreted. At this meeting, they vociferously advertised Tung Chung-shu's mythical theory of "unity of God and man" and superstitious doctrine based on the positive and the negative and on the five primary elements, and gave wide publicity to idealist transcendentalism. As a result of this conference, Pan Ku (班固) compiled the book called Pai-hu T'ung-i.

In Pai-hu T'ung-i's "Sage," the sage is described as "omniscient." Only the sage has rich transcendental knowledge, can foretell the future and can communicate with the gods in Heaven. ("The sage is born to foresee the future and to communicate with the gods.") Because of this, the supreme feudal ruler--emperor--is a sage. The reason is that if he were "not a sage, he could not have been decreed by Heaven" as Son of Heaven. Only such a sage is rich in transcendental knowledge (with unique insight and foreknowledge") and can "see what is secret from what is minute." (Ibid. "Temperament") What the idealists call "seeing what is secret from what is minute" means to say: "When problems first arise in the mind of a person, although they are secret and minute, it can be seen they will become major problems in the future." This is based on what Tzu Szu (grandson of Confucius and supreme master of Mencius) originally said: "There is nothing more visible than what is secret, and nothing more manifest than what is minute. Therefore the superior man is watchful over himself, when he is alone." (The Doctrine of the Mean, Chapter I) This means to say: The ulterior motive of a person, even though it is very secret and minute and is apparently unknown to others, would eventually be revealed. Therefore, when the "superior man" is alone in a room, he should practice introspection for self-cultivation. This is called "watchful over oneself when one is alone." It is derived from this the idea that there is no need for a person to contact the external world with his sense organs, and it will do for him to practice self-cultivation behind a closed door and learn from experience in his mind the transcendental knowledge and transcendental ethics endowed by God. Hence this was used to standardize the order of feudal society. This idea was further brought into play by Tung Chung-shu who said: "The kingly three bonds have their origin in Heaven." This seeks to propagate that man's knowledge starts from subjective ideas and moves from the subjective to the objective; it is out-and-out idealist transcendentalism.

What about the enslaved masses of the people? They have no transcendental knowledge, are "simple" (Pai-hu T'ung-i: "San Chiao") and have no "virtue." ("Virtue is not visible." Ibid. "Pi Yung") They can only exert themselves in productive labor and be enslaved by the ruling class. ("Their duty is to till land and grow mulberry and to apply themselves in labor." (Ibid. "Li Yueh")

If the working people rise in revolt, they should be made to "return to the proper way." (Ibid. "San Chiao") It therefore says: "Propriety" is specially formulated for the feudal ruling class with transcendental knowledge, while penalty is especially introduced for the exploited class with no knowledge. ("Therefore, propriety is formulated for those with knowledge and penalty is introduced for those without knowledge." Ibid. "Wu Hsing") This is a reactionary fallacy that baldly defends the feudal rule.

Wang Ch'ung's (王充) Criticism of Transcendentalism

At the time, those who made an all-round and vigorous criticism of idealist transcendentalism represented by Tung Chung-shu and Pai-hu T'ung-i were the materialist philosophers represented by Wang Ch'ung.

Wang Ch'ung (approximately 27 A.D.-79 A.D.) came from the family of an ordinary citizen who had taken up farming and commerce. He had some contact with the masses of the lower strata and had been oppressed and bullied by the families holding official ranks for generations and the influential families. Therefore, he was sympathetic to the working people who were being oppressed and exploited at the time. He was of the opinion that the peasants rose in revolt at the time because they "had no grain and could not stand cold and hunger" and that "conflict arose from shortage." (On Balance [论衡]: "Chih Ch'i P'ien") Meanwhile, he also constantly made friends with people of lower stations, and was more able to consider and study some problems in a down-to-earth manner. He wrote the well-known book On Balance to make tit-for-tat criticism of the set of idealist philosophy advertised by Tung Chung-shu.

At the time, the rulers of the Han Dynasty were vigorously promoting the trend to hold Confucius and Mencius in high esteem, and the White Tiger Temple Confereace was convened by the supreme feudal ruler in Wang Ch'ung's declining years. In On Balance, Wang Ch'ung dared to "question Confucius" and "stab Mencius." He sharply denounced many words and deeds of Confucius and Mencius as self-contradictory and unrealistic, and said that not all of them could be described as correct. ("Questioning Confucius") He had the dauntless spirit of a materialist.

Wang Ch'ung criticized and repudiated the idealist transcendentalism of Confucius and Mencius advertised by Tung Chung-shu and others. First, he pointed out that Tung Chung-shu's assertion of the "pure goodness" of man's nature was wrong and "could not be confirmed." He further criticized Mencius' theory of good human nature for "want of confirmation." ("On Man's Nature") Wang Ch'ung pointed out: The good or wicked nature of man is gradually shaped after birth. This is like the dyeing of silk. Silk dyed with blue dye becomes blue silk, and silk dyed with red dye becomes red silk. A child with no experience is like the silk. The reason that he may gradually become good or wicked is the same as whether the silk is dyed blue or red. ("On Leading Man's Nature") This means to say that the good or wicked nature of man is determined by his good or bad environment after his birth. Likewise, the wisdom and talent of man is also not transcendental and can only be acquired gradually through uninterrupted practice after birth.

Wang Ch'ung gave handicraft as an example to refute transcendentalism. He said: Because embroidery is passed on from generation to generation in the capital city of Ch'i, no ordinary girl there does not know how to do embroidery work. Because the place of Haiang knows by tradition how to weave brocade, even a girl considered to be not very clever would also become a skilled hand. Why? Since they look at something and are trained in something every day, they naturally would become proficient and more skillful in the course of time. ("On Talent") Therefore, knowledge and talent are not "natural gifts."

Wang Ch'ung pointed out that it was deceitful to say that a sage "has knowledge of the past and the future" and that he "has knowledge without learn-

ing and asking questions." In point of fact, if it were not for the perceptual knowledge gained with your eyes and ears, you would have no knowledge of things in the external world. ("On Practical Knowledge") How could there be transcendental knowledge?

Wang Ch'ung cited in "On Practical Knowledge" sixteen examples to show that "the sage cannot know something beforehand like God." For example:

Confucius and his disciple Yen Yüan were encircled by the people of K'uang. Confucius made good his escape first and Yen Yüan came to join him later. Confucius said: "I thought that you had been killed by the K'uang people." If Confucius could see the future, he should have known that Yen Yüan had not been killed by the K'uang people. Since Confucius thought that Yen Yüan had been killed by the K'uang people, it could be seen that he was unable to know anything beforehand.

Confucius was unwilling to go and see Yang Huo, but because Yang Huo had sent him a ham, he was obliged to pay a return call. Confucius had found out before hand that Yang Huo was not at home, but unfortunately, on his way back, he ran into Yang Huo. Wang Ch'ung said: If Confucius had foreknowledge of things, he would not have gone to visit Yang Huo at that time, nor would he have run into Yang Huo on his way back. It could be seen that Confucius was unable to know anything beforehand.

The sixteen example given by Wang Ch'ung all showed there was no such thing as transcendental knowledge and that even a "sage" like Confucius was also unable to have "foreknowledge" of things. Wang Ch'ung pointed out: No matter whether your "talent is high or low," you have to learn things you want to know after birth. "Knowledge comes through learning," and you "know nothing" "without asking questions." ("On Practical Knowledge") There is no such thing as "knowledge of the past and the future" in ancient or modern times.

Since even a so-called sage like Confucius had to study in order to acquire knowledge, it can be seen that none was born as a "sage." Man has to depend on learning and practice after birth before he can have knowledge of things in the external world.

In the course of disavowing so-called transcendental knowledge, besides stressing the need to acquire knowledge through perception, Wang Ch'ung also pointed out that in order to judge whether the objective things were right or wrong, it was not possible to rely on the ears, eyes and other sense organs alone, and it was also necessary to ponder over things in the mind ("On Frugal Funeral") before a deeper understanding of things could be acquired.

Starting from idealism, Tung Chung-shu thought that there was t. will of God. The will of God was eternal and invariable. Therefore, the "ways" and "principles" arising from it were also eternal and invariable. "The ways mainly originate from Heaven, and both Heaven and the ways are immutable." This is the simon-pure metaphysical viewpoint of idealism. Starting from this reactionary viewpoint, Tung Chung-shu thought that there was no change or evolution in things themselves and that the feudal moral principle also would never change. Wang Ch'ung, however, stood firm on the viewpoint of change and evolution. He pointed out: People were not clothed in ancient times but they put on clothes now. (On Balance: "Hsuan Han P'ien") It can be seen that things are changing and evolving, and the times are marching forward. He criticized Tung Chung-shu's metaphysical viewpoint and also criticized the viewpoint of the families holding official ranks for generations, the influential families and other conservative schools that advertised "the present is not as good as the past."

Later, there was another philosopher called Wang Fu (王符) who lived under the reigns of Emperor Ho and Emperor An of the Eastern Han

Dynasty. He kept in constant touch with Chang Heng (张衡), an outstanding scientist of the time, and was deeply influenced by Wang Ch'ung's materialist thought. In his book Ch'ien Fu Lun (潜夫论), starting from the viewpoint of materialist theory of knowledge, he also refused to acknowledge that there was transcendental knowledge of sage "born with knowledge." He said that the sage was not "born with knowledge" or "born with ability," and that he had to "broaden his wisdom and enlarging his virtue" through post-natal studies. He said that like the utensils made of wood, the timber grown on the hills must be processed by the carpenters with tools before it could be turned into useful utensils. (Ch'ien Fu Lun: "In Praise of Study") The same also applies to man. Nobody is a "genius" by birth, and he must be trained and taught before he can become a useful person.

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It can be seen from the above that the struggle between the two kinds of ideology was very violent on the philosophical front at the time. This was a reflection of class struggle in society at the time. One of the important questions of the struggle in philosophy at the time was whether the materialist theory of knowledge was firmly adhered to or idealist transcendentalism was advertised. The materialists maintain that all knowledge originates from post-natal study and experience and that what is called transcendental knowledge does not exist. Consequently, they are of the views that things are changing and evolving and not immutable. They hold that the times are marching forward and the present is better than the past; they are not so retrogressive and reactionary as to think that "the present is not as good as the past." The idealists take the opposite course. They maintain the separation of the subjective from the objective, and spread fallacies to poison and hoodwink the masses. This is also the course now taken by swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i. They advocate idealist transcendentalism, and advertise so-called "genius" and "super-genius" and so-called "from the subjective to the objective" so as to attain their criminal objective in their vain attempt to turn back the wheel of history, topple the proletarian dictatorship and restore capitalism. Isn't this very clear?

Through studying the struggle of materialism against idealist transcendentalism in the history of philosophy, we can further recognize the reactionary nature of idealist transcendentalism. Such idealist transcendentalism is in the service of the reactionary ruling class. In Chinese history, the publicity of idealist transcendentalism by Confucius was for the purpose of serving the rule of the slave owners in the process of disintegration. Subsequently, Tung Chung-shu and others developed it into the theoretical basis for the feudal rulers to suppress the people in the past 2,000 years and more. A study of the struggle between the two lines in the Chinese history of philosophy can strengthen our knowledge of the importance of the class struggle in the ideological sphere. As Chairman Mao has pointed out: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." Consequently, Chairman Mao teaches us that we must grasp class struggle in the realm of the superstructure. This is very important. A Marxist Party certainly must grasp firmly and properly the struggle in line, grasp firmly and properly class struggle in the ideological sphere. This must be done before we can consolidate the proletarian dictatorship and advance in victory along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

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Is Confucius the "Educator of the Whole People"?

by

T'ang Hsiao-wen (唐曉文)

For two thousand years, the reactionary rulers have all along honored Confucius as the "paragon of all generations." The May 4 Movement put forward the slogan, "Down with the Confucian School." Subsequently, to meet the need of the reactionary rulers, the bourgeois scholars again whipped up a reactionary counter-current advocating the honoring of Confucius and the reading of classics. They vociferously advertised that in upholding "making no class distinctions in teaching," (有教无类) Confucius advocated the enrollment of students without class distinctions, thus dressing him as the "educator of the whole people." After liberation, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, the representatives of the bourgeois and landlord classes who sneaked into the Party, consistently honored Confucius. They pushed through the revisionist line in education to support and connive at fallacies of this kind and brought about evil consequences. At present, as we criticize Confucius ideologically, there are still people who think that Confucius' educational thought should be affirmed.

Is Confucius really any "educator of the whole people"?

What kind of stuff is after all Confucius' "making no class distinctions in teaching"?

Should Confucius' educational thought be affirmed?

We must seek help from this telescope and microscope of Marxism to observe these questions.

What Kind of Education Did Confucius Practice?

Confucius was born in the later part of the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals, a period of major social upheavals marking the transition of China from the system of slavery to the feudal system. Confucius stubbornly adopted the reactionary stand of the slave-owning aristocrats already on the decline, and dreamt of arresting the forward movement of the wheel of history. He was extremely hostile to social reforms and lamented over "the lack of justice throughout the nation" and "the collapse of propriety and music." He therefore set for himself the task of restoring the system of slavery of the Western Chou Deynasty, put forward a set of reactionary political and ethical thoughts centering on "perfect virtue," and clamored that by reviving the states of the slave-owning aristocrats, restoring the hereditary prerogatives to the slave-owning aristocrats and bringing the slave-owning aristocrats who had been toppled back to power, the slaves in the nation would become obedient and docile. ("He revived states that had been extinguished, restored families whose line of succession had been broken, and called to office those who had retired into obscurity, so that throughout the kingdom the hearts of the people turned toward him."--Confucian Analects: Yao Yüeh). He traveled east and west, toured various states, resorted to lobbying everywhere with a mind bent on becoming an official in order to translate into reality his sweet dream of "restoring propriety" (restoring the laws and institutions of the system of slavery of the Western Chou Dynasty). He also ran a private school to recruit pupils in a desire to train them into "men of virtue," "people of purpose," "superior men" and "persons of talent" who could comply strictly with the "Book of Rites," acquire learning and become officials to restore the system of slavery of the Western Chou Dynasty. It could be seen that the educational

activities of Confucius were in the service of the reactionary politics of the slave-owning aristocrats. This reactionary political objective determined Confucius' educational line and ran through all aspects of his educational activities.

To realize this reactionary political objective, what kind of people should Confucius educate? Could it be the enrollment of students without class distinction as some people claimed?

The two fundamentally antagonistic classes in the slave society were the slaves and the slave owners. In order to find out whether or not Confucius enrolled students with no class distinctions, we must first see whether or not the broadest masses in the society--the slaves--were enrolled.

In the days of the system of slavery, the slave owner basically did not look upon the slaves as human beings. To them the slaves were nothing more than "chattels that could talk," and the slave owners were at liberty to persecute, buy and sell and slaughter them. Both the archaeological excavations and the ancient documents have shown that the slave-owning aristocrats of ancient China slaughtered hundreds and thousands of slaves for offering sacrifices to their ancestors or for burying with the dead. How could they give the slaves any education?

In fact, Confucius himself also baldly excluded the slaves from his objects of education. Starting from idealist transcendentalism, he divided people into a number of classes: "Those who are born with the possession of knowledge" were the highest class; "those who learn, and so, readily, get possession of knowledge" were the next; "those who are dull and stupid, and yet compass the learning" were another class next to them; as to the slaves ("people") "who are dull and stupid and yet do not learn," they were the lowest class. (Confucian Analects: Chi Shih) This was not all, for he also clearly advocated that "the wise of the highest class" and "the stupid of the lowest class" were so born and could not be changed. (Confucian Analects: Yang Huo) As he saw it, the slaves who were born to be "the stupid of the lowest class" were fundamentally beyond training. He therefore ferociously cried: The slaves could only be made to work honestly and should never be allowed to understand why ("The people may be made to follow a path of action, but they may not be made to understand it."--Confucian Analects: T'ai Po). Look, how clear-cut the reactionary stand of this slave-owning aristocrat who was hostile to the slaves! His reactionary class nature determined that he could not but be hostile to the slaves and advocate this kind of reactionary policy to keep the people in ignorance.

Confucius glorified himself saying: I have not refused instruction to any one who has brought me a bundle of dry meat. ("From the man bringing his bundle of dried flesh for my teaching upward, I have never refused instruction to any one."--Confucian Analects: Shu Erh) This remark served precisely to expose the falsehood of the allegation that Confucius enrolled students without class distinctions. Let's ask: In a society where a horse plus a bundle of silk could exchange five slaves ("Huting" Engraved Inscription), since the slaves were marketable chattels and had basically no personal freedom, how could they produce a bundle of dried meat for tuition?

To be sure, Confucius had many students, and among his "72 men of excellent virtues and 2,000 disciples," there were also some so-called "poor students." For example, there were Yen Yüan who "lived in a mean alley because of poverty" and Tseng Ts'an who "hoed the melon fields together with his father while his mother had to weave cloth herself." These persons have been taken by some people as evidence of Confucius' enrollment of students with no class distinctions. As a matter of fact, Yen Yüan's forefathers had for fourteen generations served as ministers and high officials in the State of Lu, and only his father went into oblivion. Tseng Ts'an was a descendant of Crown Prince Wu of the

State of Tseng that had been wiped out by the State of Lu. It can be seen that all of them came from among the fallen slave-owning aristocrats. They were relatively "poor" compared with the aristocrats in the slave-owning class, but they were obviously part and parcel of the slave-owning class. The attempt to use this to show that Confucius enrolled students with no class distinctions does not hold water at all.

Among Confucius' students, there were also some of so-called "lowly and humble" origin. For example, Jan Yung's father was a "man of low standing" and Tzu Kung was a "profiteer." Some people have also used them to justify their claim that Confucius enrolled students with no class distinctions. In point of fact, this likewise does not hold water. As the slave-owning aristocrats saw it, only the officials and those with influence were noble, while the other people engaged in farming, industry and commerce were all lowly and humble. Confucius had described himself in this way: "When I was young, my condition was low, and therefore I acquired my ability in many things, but they were mean matters." (Confucian Analects: Tzu Han) However, Confucius was not a slave but was born of slave-owning aristocrats on the decline. The word "low" used here conveyed the meaning of his "not having been employed" as an official, while "mean matters" referred to technical skills. Therefore, Jan Yung's father, that "man of low standing," was also nothing more than a person without an office. As regards Tzu Kung, according to the Historical Records and other books, he was a merchant of the State of Wei "with a mounted retinue and very wealthy." Obviously, he was a slave owner engaged in commerce. At any rate, these so-called people of "lowly and humble" origin could not be slaves, because in the slave society of ancient times, the slaves were basically not qualified to be described as "people," and they were often described as the "commons," the "masses," the "vagrants," the "crowd," etc., but not as the "people." Therefore, what was called "no distinction between the eminent and the lowly" meant at most no distinction between people with or without offices in certain classes or strata, not counting the slaves. Any attempt to use this as evidence that Confucius enrolled students with no class distinctions is also of no avail.

Judged by what the students were taught by Confucius, it also could be seen that what Confucius practiced was definitely not "education for the whole people." For the purpose of training his students as the lackeys of the slave-owning aristocrats, Confucius ruled that his students could only study propriety, music, poetry, history and other courses for the slave-owning aristocrats with emphasis put on the Book of Rites. He styled himself as the successor to the laws and institutions of the system of slavery charged with "handing down the doctrines of Yao and Shun as though they had been his ancestors and modelling himself upon King Wen and King Wu." He thought that the foundation lay in the study of propriety and only after receiving a systematic course of education in the laws and institutions of the system of slavery could the study of cultural knowledge be of use. It was basically not necessary to learn such things as productive labor and one should not condescend to learn them.

Once, his pupil Fan Hsü (Ch'ih) asked him for advice on how to till land and grow vegetables. He angrily said: "I am not so good for that as an old husbandman!" "I am not so good for that as an old gardener!" After Fan Hsü had gone, he shouted abuse saying: "A small man, indeed, is Fan Hsü!" (Confucian Analects: Tzu Lu) It would be strange indeed if such a reactionary fellow who was opposed to the participation of his pupils in productive labor and was hostile to the working people would have enrolled the slaves as his pupils!

Although the landlord and bourgeois classes puffed him up as so marvelous, actually there was nothing so wonderful. He did not know anything about industry and farming, and his "learning" was nothing more than the chaff which failed to impress the working people. In the eyes of the working people,

Confucius was nothing more than a stupid fellow "whose four limbs are unaccustomed to toil and who cannot distinguish the five kinds of grain," a parasite, and was fundamentally unfit to teach.

Chairman Mao points out: "Any given culture (as an ideological form) is a reflection of the politics and economics of a given society, and the former in turn has a tremendous influence and effect upon the latter; economics is the base and politics the concentrated expression of economics. This is our fundamental view of the relation of culture to politics and economics and of the relation of politics to economics." ("On New Democracy")

In any given period, education always gives political service to the ruling class of that period. There also cannot be any education for the whole people standing above classes in ancient or modern times, in China or other countries. No matter how we look at the matter, all educational activities of Confucius were in the service of reactionary politics for restoring the system of slavery of the Western Chou Dynasty, and Confucius himself was a sinor-pure loyal lackey of the slave-owning aristocrats. The so-called "educator of the whole people" was nothing more than a mask given by some people to Confucius.

What Kind of Stuff Is "Making No Class Distinctions in Teaching"?

Some people say that in advocating "making no class distinctions in teaching," Confucius wanted to "shatter the class boundary" in the education of pupils. This is most preposterous.

The ancient society of China was sternly divided into classes according to the clannish system. There was not only a clear dividing line between the various classes and strata. The scholars, peasants, workers and traders could not be mixed. The son of a scholar was always a scholar, the son of a peasant was always a peasant, the son of a worker was always a worker, and the son of a trader was always a trader. (Kuan Tzu: Hsiao K'uang) Furthermore, in the ruling class, the ranks of the slave-owning aristocrats--the Son of Heaven, the princes, the ministers and the high officials--also could only be hereditary and could not be assumed.

Confucius was the loyal defender of the "Book of Rites." He felt very bitter about the collapse of the ranks of the system of slavery in the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals, the situation of "the sovereign no longer the sovereign, the minister no longer the minister, the father no longer the father and the son no longer the son" caused by "offending against their superiors and stirring up confusion," and loudly called for the need to uphold the order of "the sovereign as the sovereign, the minister as the minister, the father as the father and the son as the son." How could he "shatter the class boundary"? It is quite obvious that "making no class distinctions in teaching" basically did not mean "shattering the class boundary" in the education of pupils, but referred to something else.

Generally speaking, there is a difference between the two concepts of "the people" and "the common people" in the statements by Confucius as recorded in the Confucian Analects. "The people" broadly refer to the classes and strata other than the slaves, including the slave-owning aristocrats, the ordinary slave owners, the newly emerging landlord class and the individual workers; but "the common people" refer exclusively to the slaves. In correspondence with this, there also is a difference between the two concepts of "teaching" and "training." As recorded in the Confucian Analects, Confucius used the term of "teaching" in five places:

(1) Yu, shall I teach you what knowledge is? When you know a thing, to hold that you know it; and when you do not know a thing, to allow that you do not know it;--this is knowledge. ("Wei Cheng")

(2) The silent treasuring up of knowledge; learning without satiety; and teaching others without being wearied: --which one of these things belongs to me? ("Shu Erh")

(3) From the man bringing his bundle of dried meat for my teaching upward, I have never refused instruction to any one. ("Shu Erh")

(4) The sage and the man of perfect virtue;--how dare I rank myself with them? It may simply be said of me, that I strive to become such without satiety, and teach others without weariness. ("Shu Erh")

(5) Can there be love which does not lead to strictness with its object? Can there be loyalty which does not lead to the teaching of its object?" ("Hsien Wen")

It can be seen that what Confucius described as "teaching" was linked with "the people" and that the object "taught" was "the people." The people were taught on a voluntary basis and not by coercion, and the only condition was to pay tuition. Therefore, what Confucius talked about "teaching" is equivalent in meaning to what is subsequently called "education"--to educate the people of various classes and strata other than the slaves.

In the Confucian Analects the term of "training" is used in seven places:

(1) Chi K'ang asked how to cause the common people to reverence their ruler, to be faithful to him, and to go on to nerve themselves to virtue. The Master said, "Let him preside over them with dignity;--then they will reverence him. Let him be filial and kind to all;--then they will be faithful to him. Let him advance the good and train the incompetent;--then they will eagerly seek to be virtuous." ("Wei Cheng")

(2) Let a good man train the common people seven years, and they may then likewise be employed in war. ("Tzu Lu")

(3) To lead the untrained common people to war, is it to throw them away." ("Tzu Lu")

(4) When the Master went to Wei, Jan Yu acted as driver of his carriage. The Master observed, "How numerous are the people!" Yu said, "Since they are thus numerous, what more shall be done for them?" "Enrich them," was the reply. "And when they have been enriched, what more shall be done?" The Master said, "Train them." ("Tzu Lu")

(5) To put the common people to death without having trained [illegible]--this is called cruelty. ("Yao Yüeh")

(6) In training there should be no distinction of classes. ("Wei Ling Kung")

(7) There were four things which the Master trained (taught): letters, ethics, devotion of soul, and truthfulness. ("Shu Erh")

The first six quotations were what Confucius himself said, but the seventh one was a summing up of what Confucius taught by the successors to the Confucian School and was therefore somewhat different from what Confucius actually said. We can see from what Confucius himself said in the first five quotations that "training" was linked with "the common people," in other words, was aimed at "the common people." The content of training was military training and ideological indoctrination. "Training" was given by "the people" to "the common people," and the relationship between the two was that between the ruler and the ruled. "Training" was given unconditionally and compulsorily,

and not on a voluntary basis. What Confucius called "training" referred to the training of the slaves and was distinctly different in nature from what he described as "teaching."

"Yu chiao wu lei" (making no class distinctions in teaching or training 有教无类) evidently referred to training--compulsory military training and ideological indoctrination for the slaves, and it was wrong to mix it up with what Confucius called "teaching"--education for various classes and strata other than the slaves. The character "yu 有" in this sentence was in ancient time used in common with the characters "囿" and "域," referring to region; and the character "lei 类" referred to clannish distinctions, and not to any "class boundary" or "family origin."

Therefore, when Confucius said "Yu chiao wu lei," he originally meant nothing more than to say giving the slaves compulsory training irrespective of their clans and regional structure, but basically not "to shatter the class boundary" in the education of pupils. During the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals, due to the frequent outbreak of wars and because the slaves continuously rose in insurrection, the clannish system based on the system of slavery was crumbling, and the aristocrats with different surnames and their slaves were huddling together. The rulers no longer could rule through the clans as in the Western Chou Dynasty, and had to rule according to regional classification. In line with this, the compulsory training of slaves had also to be carried out according to regional classification. In a principality, there were high officials of different surnames who had their own "common people" and soldiers and constituted a great menace to the "dukedom." Confucius put forward his "yu chiao wu lei" to advocate the compulsory training of slaves of all clans according to their regional classification. On the one hand, he aimed mainly at weakening the power and influence of the newly emerging feudal landlord class through suppressing the "clannish feuds" so as to uphold the interests of the "dukedom" or the slave-owning ruling class; but the more important object was to place the slaves under stronger control so as to prevent them from rising in insurrection. How could "yu chiao wu lei" be described as "shattering the class boundary" for the "universalization of education"?

As a matter of fact, the philosophers of the era before the destruction of Chinese classics by the First Emperor of the Ch'in Dynasty did not interpret Confucius' "yu chiao wu lei" in anyway. Only Ma Jung of the Eastern Han Dynasty started to interpret it as "meaning making no distinctions in giving instructions." (Collected Ancient Annotations to "Confucian Analects", Vol XV) Huang Han of the Epoch of Division between North and South again inserted into it the meaning of giving education to both the eminent and the humble. He said: "Both the eminent and the humble people are suitable for instruction." (Collected Explanations to "Confucian Analects", Vol. VIII) From then on, what was already incorrect was incorrectly conveyed, and the thinkers of the feudal landlord class of past ages interpreted "yu chiao wu lei" as making no distinctions between the eminent and the humble, between the rich and the poor, so as to meet their own political requirements.

In short, "yu chiao wu lei" as preached by Confucius had nothing to do with his educational undertaking, and basically cannot be taken as the basis of such a theme as "shattering the class boundary."

Why Must Confucius Be Dressed As "Educator of the Whole People"?

Lenin had said: "Education 'standing aloff from politics' or education 'cut off from politics' is a hypocritical allegation of the bourgeoisie for hoodwinking 99 percent of the masses oppressed by the church and the system of private ownership." (Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. [illegible], p. 364) This is a fact. Bourgeois education actually places bourgeois politics above all else. The bourgeois schools train men of talent for the bourgeoisie, and their co-

called "universal obligatory education" is used to train the slaves of capital for the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie has never given any thought to turning education into "education for the whole people" without class distinctions. However, for the sake of hoodwinking the masses, it has cowardly concealed this point, and played up on the other hand what is called "everybody is equal before education!"

The bourgeoisie of China was just as hypocritical as the bourgeoisie of the West, and the only difference was that the tune of education standing above classes sung by the former bore more or less some Chinese flavor. The eruption of the May 4 Movement in 1919 bore the radical and uncompromising nature of opposition to imperialism and feudalism. The cultural revolution carried out at the time was a radical movement against feudal culture. It held aloft the banner of opposing the old morality and promoting a new morality, opposing the old literature and promoting a new literature. By putting forth the slogan of "down with the Confucian School," opposing the honoring of Confucius and the study of classics and making a clean sweep of the prestige of Confucius, the "sage" of the feudal society, it played a great role in history. At the time, the bourgeois intellectuals had participated in this movement as the right wing. However, after the May 4 Movement, the majority of them went over to the reactionary side.

After Chiang Kai-shek launched the "April 12" counter-revolutionary coup d'etat in 1927, he hurriedly went to Ch'ufu in Shantung to burn incense and bow at the Confucian Temple. Subsequently, he adopted the feudal dross of Confucius as an important part of feudal-comprador-fascist education. To meet the need of the Chiang Dynasty, the bourgeois men of letters and scholars imported from the West the bourgeois stuff of education standing above classes, gave it the trade mark of the "Confucian School," and whipped up a reactionary counter-current to honor Confucius. They claimed that Confucius "enrolled students on a large scale without considering their family origin....and taught all of them various branches of learning and to read various kinds of precious classics. This really was a great liberation." Themes of this kind made a lot of noise for a time.

Anti-communist Kuomintang element Ch'en Po-ta clamored after them and enthusiastically cried that Confucius' application of "making no class distinctions in teaching" "was a unique achievement" "worthy of being played up in the history of Chinese culture."

Because of this, Confucius was dressed up as an "educator of the whole people. In fact, this "educator of the whole people" was molded to meet the need of the feudal-comprador-fascist dictatorship of the Kuomintang reactionaries. Lu HsUn aptly said: "In China Confucius has been lauded to the skies by those in power and is the sage of those in power or those who aspire to come to power. He has nothing to do with the common people." ("Confucius of Contemporary China")

Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, agents of the landlord and bourgeois classes within the Party, had all along been the frantic propagators of the "ways of Confucius and Mencius." After the liberation of the whole country, they also inherited the reactionary counter-current to honor Confucius. In 1962 when the counter-revolutionary restoration activities of Liu Shao-ch'i and company were most rabid, they openly stage the farce of making a "pilgrimage to the Confucian Temple" and organized a "forum on Confucius" in a vain attempt to make use of the ghost of Confucius to serve their subversion of the proletarian dictatorship and restoration of capitalism. Therefore, the strange talk that Confucius "made no class distinctions in teaching," "shattered the class boundary" in the education of pupils and "popularized education" ran wild. After this reactionary counter-current was hit in the head by Chairman Mao and the revolutionary masses, Lu Ting-i, Liu Shao-ch'i's agent in the cultural and educational circles still, beat his chest to give assurance saying: "Is [illegible]making

no class distinctions in teaching' correct or not? I say it is correct, and it is still 'making no class distinctions in teaching'!" When the Lin Piao anti-Party clique hid itself in a dark corner to hatch the counter-revolutionary conspiracy to usurp leadership and seize power in the Party, it also actually idolized Confucius, and used the slogan of "either success or death" to indicate its counter-revolutionary resolution.

The facts of class struggle since the founding of the people's republic have shown that the struggle between those honoring Confucius and those against Confucius reflects the struggle between those for and against restoration in the ideological sphere. Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and their ilk were very enthusiastic about lauding Confucius as the "educator of the whole people" and publicizing the hackneyed tune of "making no class distinctions in teaching" because they wanted to fabricate a theoretical basis for their revisionist line in education, in a vain attempt to obliterate the class nature of proletarian education and to transform our schools into places for training successors to the bourgeoisie, so that the landlord bourgeois classes could continue to monopolize culture and education, subvert the proletarian dictatorship and restore capitalism. However, the ghost of Confucius could save neither all reactionaries in the Chinese history nor Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao from their doom. The great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work have swept them together with the tablet of Confucius onto the garbage heap of history.

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The Struggle For and Against Restoration in the Course of the Founding of the Ch'in Dynasty

- also on the social basis of the contention between the Confucianists and the Legalists

by

Lo Szu-ting (罗思鼎)

The Ch'in Dynasty was the first feudal dynasty in Chinese history. The feudal cause of unification consummated by Ch'in Shih Huang and the series of political measures adopted by him could not simply be attributed to fortuity but were the inevitable consequences of the historical development of society at the time.

Chairman Mao pointed out in "On Contradiction": In studying the process of the development of a thing, attention must be paid to the fact that "each stage in the development of the process has also its particular features." In the Ch'in State, transition from the system of slavery to the feudal system began under Duke Hsiao of Ch'in and was consummated under Ch'in Shih Huang; the whole process took seven reigns to complete. During these 150 years, the struggle between those for and against political reforms and those for and against restoration was very violent. Due to his adaptability to the trend of social development that the feudal system was bound to replace the system of slavery, Ch'in Shih Huang was able to "carry on the unfinished job of the past six reigns, crack his long whip all over the country" (Chia I's "Kuo Ch'in Lun" 过秦论 --see "Biographic Sketches of Ch'in Shih Huang" in Historical Records), unify China, and found the first unified feudal dynasty in Chinese history.

"The Han Dynasty succeeded to the institutions of Ch'in." ("Collected Biographies of Pan Piao" in History of Later Han). This showed that the feudalist social system based on the dictatorship of the landlord class founded by Ch'in could not be reversed. In studying the history of the Chinese feudal society and criticizing and repudiating the trend of thought to honor Confucianism and oppose Legalism, we must clearly see the social foundation of the contention between the Confucian and Legalist schools of thought and the historic role of Ch'in Shih Huang. And in order to understand correctly the social foundation of the contention between Confucianism and Legalism and the historic role of Ch'in Shih Huang, we must have a clear understanding of the struggle between those for and against restoration during these 150 years from Duke Hsiao of Ch'in to Ch'in Shih Huang and the particular features of its various stages.

I

"Ch'in became prosperous and powerful through adopting Shang Yang's set of laws." ("Ho House" in Works of Philosopher Han Fei). Shang Yang's political reforms under the reign of Duke Hsiao of Ch'in formed the historic turning point in substituting the feudal system for the system of slavery in the Ch'in State.

Shang Yang's political reforms reflected the trend of historical development of society at the time.

As early as the period of Spring and Autumn Annals, the endless succession of struggles waged by the slaves against enslavement and oppression by slave owners gave impetus to the transformation of the system of land ownership. In the year 594 B.C., the Lu State recognized the private ownership of land through

levying taxes on private land. This created a breach in the economy based on the system of slavery. In the early part of the period of Warring States, through the introduction of political reforms by Li Li in the Wei State and by Wu Ch'i in the Ch'u State, the transformation of the system of slavery toward the feudal system had occurred to varying extents in the different feudal states of China.

During the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals and the Warring States, the resistance of the slaves was also very violent in the Ch'in State, and the well-known general uprising of slaves headed by Chih took place in the Ch'in State. ("Chih was a leading brigand of Ch'in."--see note to "Biography of Chia I" in History of Han) As recorded in "Brigand Chih" in the Works of Philosopher Chuang, Chih led "his 9,000 followers to overrun the country and attack the feudal princes," thus striking a heavy blow at the rule of the slave-owning aristocrats in the Ch'in State.

Meanwhile, prior to the introduction of political reforms by Shang Yang, immeasurable power had fallen into the hands of a group of clannish slave-owning aristocrats in the Ch'in State. They had the final say in the installation or dethroning of the sovereign, and internal strife constantly arose over their contention for the throne. The sharp clash between the sovereign and the slave-owning aristocrats urgently called for the search of support from certain political forces. It was precisely from this weak link in the rule of the system of slavery that the landlord class of the Ch'in State found a breach to enable it to develop gradually its own strength.

In the year 408 B.C., the Ch'in State began to "levy a tax on the grain crop." ("Chronology of the Six States" in Historical Records) This demonstrated that the landlord class in the Ch'in State had won legitimate recognition. In the year 384 B.C., Duke Hsien of Ch'in began to abolish the atrocious system of burying the living with the dead under the system of slavery. ("Biographic Sketches of Ch'in" in Historical Records) Ten years afterward, Duke Hsien of Ch'in again adopted the new system of "household registration." ("Biographic Sketches of Ch'in Shih Huang" in Historical Records) The development of the new feudal relations of production and the growth in strength of the newly emerging landlord class called for corresponding reflection in the political field. As the agent of the landlord class, Duke Hsiao of Ch'in eagerly looked forward to "administering his government through political reforms." ("Change of Law" in Works of Shang Yang) As soon as he ascended the throne, he promulgated a decree saying, "I intend to offer higher posts to and share my land with my guests and ministers who can think of wonderful ways to make Ch'in powerful." ("Biographic Sketches of Ch'in" in Historical Records)

What political line should after all be adopted in order to effect reforms? Because the Ch'in State was located in the outlying land of Yungchou and was not entitled to attend "meetingsfor concluding treaties" ("Biographic Sketches of Ch'in" in Historical Records) together with the feudal states of Central China, the slave-owner class exercised a relatively weak rule in the ideological sphere and was unable to produce any integral ideological system. "Confucius did not go to Ch'in when he went westward." (Han Yü's "Song of the Stone Drum") This showed that the influence of the Confucian school was rather weak in the Ch'in State and was not as extensive and strong as in Central China. Therefore, the sovereign of Ch'in was candidly of the view that he should adopt a political line that ran counter to the thought of Confucius. He said: "Right now,the feudal princes are vigorously contending for troops and food. If my country is ruled with benevolence and justice, this is the way to court disaster." ("Lieh Tzu: Shuo Fu") Using the stuff advocated by Confucius would lead to national doom--this was his summing up of the historical experience of the time.

Shang Yang was a native of the Wei State and was originally called Kung-sun Yang. A disciple of Li Li's, he was a Legalist "addicted to penal

law." ("Collected Biographies of Shang Yang" in Historical Records) When he came to the Ch'in State from the Wei State, although he was welcomed by the newly emerging landlord class in the Ch'in State, he was also opposed by the slave-owner class already on the decline. At the time, a major dispute had arisen at the Ch'in Court. Kan Lung and Tu Chih, political representatives of the old aristocrats of the Ch'in State, vainly attempted to reform the Ch'in State along the Confucian line. They clamored that "one will make no mistake by following the ancient way and will not go astray by adhering to propriety" ("Collected Biographies of Shang Yang" in Historical Records), and made every effort to advocate upholding the "rule of propriety" under the system of slavery. Shang Yang refuted this kind of traditional slave-owners' way of thinking as a "very vulgar point of view." He said that "there is more than one way to administer national affairs, and not modelling after the past is in the interest of the nation" (Ibid.), and tried his utmost to introduce reforms. In this violent clash of views between the reformers of the landlord class and the conservatives of the slave-owning aristocracy, Duke Hsiao of Ch'in firmly backed up Shang Yang's view and laid down the line of political reforms. Beginning in the year 356 B.C., Shang Yang carried out political reforms on a large scale and pushed through a series of measures for political reforms. For example, he "demarcated the fields with footpaths" (Ibid.), encouraged land reclamation by landlords and the development of agricultural production, abrogated the hereditary prerogatives of the aristocrats, introduced the law of making people share the criminal responsibility of other people without actually being guilty themselves (Ibid.), and enforced the county system and the system of unified weights and measures. Starting from the stand to uphold the interests of the landlord class, Shang Yang vigorously advocated "utter devotion to one's occupation." (Ibid.) He called on people to exert themselves in farming and weaving and was of the view that "the prosperity of a country depends on agricultural operations." ("Agricultural Operations" in Works of Shang Yang) In his political reforms, he especially provided that "those who put out more grain and silk fabrics" could be "exempted from assorted levies." On the contrary, "those who are unsuccessful, lazy and poor" ("Collected Biographies of Shang Yang" in Historical Records), together with their wives, would be taken over as slaves by the government. The enforcement of this policy to attach weight to farming and to suppress commerce was favorable to the growth of the landlord class in strength and dealt a heavy blow to the influence of the slave-owners engaged in industry and commerce.

Shang Yang's political reforms were deep-going social reforms. They were bound to encounter the stubborn resistance of the reactionary forces of the old aristocrats. When Shang Yang's political reforms were put in force, "those who complained of the inconvenience of the laws numbered by the thousands" and "most of the distinguished relatives of the imperial family expressed their ill-will" (Ibid.) in the capital of the Ch'in State. The aristocrat slave-owners trembled with fear and gnashed their teeth. They "hated Shang Yang's laws more than their personal feuds" ("Denouncing Shang Yang" in On Iron and Salt) and "complaints and voices of discontent heaped up like a mountain." (Liu Hsiang's "New Preface"--see "Assorted Views" on "Collected Biographies of Shang Yang" in Historical Records) They gathered together under the banner of Prince Ch'ien, instigated the prince to "break the laws," and tried their utmost to obstruct the enforcement of political reforms. Confronted by the situation that "the laws could not be carried out due to the distinguished relatives" ("Biographic Sketches of Ch'in" in Historical Records), Shang Yang backed by Duke Hsiao of Ch'in struck a heavy blow at the clannish slave-owner clique. He severely punished Prince Ch'ien by having his nose cut off, tattooed the face of Kung-sun Chia who instigated the prince to break the laws, and executed aristocrat Chu Huan for sabotaging the political reforms. Shang Yang suppressed the counter-revolutionaries with fanfare. On the bank of the Wei River in the vicinity of Hsienyang, he suppressed more than 700 old aristocrats, thus upholding and consolidating the new feudal system. According to records, after the new laws "were put in force for ten years, the people of Ch'in were exceedingly

pleased" and "peace and order reigned in towns and villages." ("Collected Biographies of Shang Yang" in Historical Records) Even women and children could "recount Shang Yang's laws." ("Records of Ch'in, Part I" in Records of the Warring States) When Chang T'ai-yen was still a bourgeois revolutionary in his early years, he had correctly appraised Shang Yang saying, "The world was merely aware of Shang Yang's ruthlessness when he first administered the government without considering his subsequent accomplishments." (Chang T'ai-yen's "Ch'iu Shu: Shang Yang")

After the clannish slave-owner clique of the Ch'in State suffered a violent blow, it went underground. Prince Ch'ien stayed indoors for eight years, but he secretly machinated plots day and night in a vain attempt to restore the old order. As the political representative of the landlord class, Shang Yang was unable to free himself from the limitations and weaknesses unique to that class. Although he was aware of the seriousness of the struggle, he fundamentally could not rely on the people, and had not adequately assessed and extensively mobilized the forces of the landlord class. He took a line of extending political reforms from the higher level to the lower level. Therefore, as soon as Duke Hsiao of Ch'in died, Shang Yang was unable to carry on his political reforms. Especially after King Hui of Ch'in--the crown prince who shared the same front with the old aristocrats--came to the throne, the restoration forces headed by Prince Ch'ien at once launched a counter-attack and "accused Shang Yang of attempting to rebel." ("Collected Biographies of Shang Yang" in Historical Records) In the year 338 B.C. the aristocratic slave-owners killed Shang Yang with torture by "crushing him to death under the wheels of a chariot."

After the death of Shang Yang, the Ch'in State was for a time dominated by the adverse current of restoration. King Hui of Ch'in carried out a political line that ran diametrically opposed to Shang Yang's. He ousted the Legalists and trusted the old aristocrats. King Hui of Ch'in had a brother-in-law called Wei Jan who was later installed as the Marquis of Jang. An "elderly statesman" of three reigns under King Hui, King Wu and King Chao, he was economically "more wealthy than the royal household" and politically "held the Ch'in State in awe." ("Collected Biographies of Marquis of Jang" in Historical Records) The Marquis of Jang made every effort to persecute the Legalists and described the strategists of the landlord class from the states of Han, Chao and Wei as "trouble-makers in the country." ("Collected Biographies of Fan Sui and Ts'ai Tse" in Historical Records) The reactionary nature of the aristocratic slave-owner class was thus fully exposed.

Meanwhile, an adverse current against the Legalists also appeared in various feudal states on the Central Plains. The rocking of the economic base of the slave-owner class to the foundation by Shang Yang's political reforms brought panic to the slave-owners in all states. They looked upon the Ch'in State as a country of "tigers and wolves," "with no knowledge of propriety," "covetous for gain and devoid of faith." ("Records of Wei, Part III" in Records of the Warring States) Confucian scholar Mencius played the role of the vanguard in this encirclement and suppression campaign against the Legalists.

The Confucian school was at the time a most reactionary trend and school of thought. Confucius, its founder, was a stubborn spokesman of the slave-owner class already on the decline. All his life, he ran around and called for upholding the rule of the system of slavery. Mencius inherited the reactionary cause of Confucius. He openly opposed the abrogation of the hereditary prerogatives of the slave-owning aristocrats, and advocated the preservation of the system of "hereditary offices" and "hereditary emoluments." ("Liang Hui Wang Part II" in Works of Mencius) He cried, "The administration of government is not difficult; it lies in not offending the great families" ("Li Lou Part I" in Works of Mencius)--meaning not to touch the interests of

the slave-owning aristocrats. Like Confucius who killed Shao Cheng Mao, Mencius cursed the Legalists as "robbers of the people" ("Kao Tzu Part II" in Works of Mencius) and called for rigorous suppression. Shang Yang "tore up the footpaths in the fields" ("Collected Biographies of Fan Sui and Ts'ai Tse" in Historical Records), "dropped the boundaries" ("Shih Huo Part I" in T'ung Tien), and abolished the slave-owners' system of land ownership. Mencius loudly declared that "the first thing toward a benevolent government must be to lay down the boundaries" ("Teng Wen Kung Part I" in Works of Mencius) in a vain attempt to restore the "chingt'ien" system of land division that had long ago disintegrated. Shang Yang advocated the policy of "agricultural operations" and encouraged the newly emerging landlord class to change its social status by way of "reclaiming land and conquering the enemies." ("Election Part I" in T'ung Tien) But Mencius cast forth the theory of "certain livelihood" saying, "The way of the people is this: If they have a certain livelihood, they will have a fixed heart" ("Teng Wen Kung Part I" in Works of Mencius), and advocated punishment of "those who take in grassy commons." ("Li Lou Part I" in Works of Mencius) Shang Yang advocated "rule by law," but Mencius advocated the "kingly way" and "benevolence and righteousness." Mencius' political and economic views were reactionary in contrast with Shang Yang's political reforms and were in complete conformity with the demand of the aristocratic slave-owners for restoration.

However, the eventual replacement of the system of slavery by the feudal system was a law of history independent of man's will. The restoration activities of the reactionaries inside and outside the Ch'in State had no way to alter the general orientation of historical development. Han Fei said, "After the death of Duke Hsiao and Shang Yang and after King Hui came to the throne, the Ch'in laws were still intact." (Philosopher Han Fei's "Law Making") This statement was correct. After the abolition of the "chingt'ien" system of land division, the establishment and development of the feudal system of private land was as irresistible as the tide. According to records, "King Hui of Ch'in annexed Pachung...and the lord there paid 2,016 coins in tax each year and 1,800 coins in relief tax every three years." ("Collected Biographies of the Barbarians of the South and Southwest" in History of Later Han) This was a typical form of exploitation through feudal taxation. By the time of King Chao of Ch'in, agriculture was well developed not only in the Kuanchung region but also in outlying Szechwan which had miles of fertile fields and was described as the "natural granary." ("Records of Szechwan" in Records of Huayang State) All this showed that after the shackles of the system of land ownership by slave-owners were smashed, a new prosperity was necessarily brought to the landlord economy.

After the further development of the landlord economy, the newly emerging landlord class became daily more dissatisfied with its lack of power in the political field, and it strove to set up a new form of domination corresponding to the economic base. Its struggle with the aristocratic slave-owner class entered a new stage. If it was said that the struggle in the period of Shang Yang's political reforms was mainly carried out around the question of the system of land ownership, the struggle between the two classes gradually concentraded on the question of political power. Under the reign of King Chao of Ch'in, because Wei Jan and others exercised dictatorial rule, "the wealth in private hands was greater than that of the royal household." ("Collected Biographies of Fan Sui and Ts'ai Tse" in Historical Records) For the sake of snatching back his lost power, King Chao of Ch'in spoke a common language with the newly emerging landlord class. He gradually inclined toward the Legalist school and learned that "the Confucian school brought no benefit to the state." ("Ju Hsiao" in Works of Philosopher Hsün) On one occasion, when King Chao was ill, some slave-owning aristocrats deliberately violated the taboo by buying beef to pray for him. King Chao unhesitatingly made known his view: "Unless the laws are abided by, the way will lead to disorder and fall." ("Wai Ch'u Shuo Yu Hsia" in Works of Philosopher Han Fei) He ordered each of them to pay a fine in the form of two sets of coats of mail to the state.

It was under such circumstances that the well-known representative of the Legalist school Fan Sui came from the Wei State to the Ch'in State. He managed to dodge the search made by Marquis Wei Jan of Jang, and pointed out in a "memorandum" to King Chao: "I have heard that in administering the government, a wise sovereign cannot but reward those with meritorious services, offer official posts to the capable, pay those with heavier duties higher salaries, confer a higher degree of nobility on those with greater merit, and offer higher posts to those who are competent to rule the public." ("Collected Biographies of Fan Sui and Ts'ai Tse" in Historical Records) Fan Sui inherited and brought into play Shang Yang's thought on "bestowing honors on and making prominent those with meritorious services, but denying glory to those who though rich have not performed any meritorious service" ("Collected Biographies of Shang Yang" in Historical Records), and opposed the system of "hereditary offices" and "hereditary emoluments." Standing diametrically opposed to the Confucian thought on division of power among the aristocrats, Fan Sui put forward the Legalist thought on setting up a feudal state based on the centralization of authority. He exhorted King Chao saying, "When there is a wise sovereign in the country, the feudal princes may not do things without permission." ("Collected Biographies of Fan Sui and Ts'ai Tse" in Historical Records) This meant to say that only by strengthening the centralization of authority could the absolute rule of the monarch be guaranteed. Fan Sui criticized the aristocratic slave-owner clique headed by Wei Jan for advocating the policy of "making friends with neighboring countries and attacking the distant ones" in order to preserve their own hereditary prerogatives, and went further by putting forward the policy of "making friends with distant countries and attacking the neighboring ones." (Ibid.) Fan Sui's line won the approval of King Chao of Ch'in, and he was accordingly "appointed as a guest minister in charge of military affairs." (Ibid.)

After employing Fan Sui, King Chao won one victory after another in the unification war against other states. The standing of King Chao as the representative of the landlord class was thus strengthened. On this basis, King Chao of Ch'in "strengthened the dukedom and blocked the influential families." ("Collected Biographies of Li Szu" in Historical Records) He banished the Marquis of Jang, Prince Kao Ling, Prince Hua Yang, Prince Ching Yang and a handful of old aristocrats to outside the Hanku Pass and appointed Fan Sui as Prime Minister. From then on, the newly emerging landlord class regained its prominence in the state organs of Ch'in.

However, although Fan Sui had become Prime Minister, he was actually perched on top of the crater of a volcano that could erupt any time. In the Ch'in State, the influence of the old aristocrats was still rather powerful. Because of the background of such class struggle, Fan Sui wavered and in the year 256 B.C. "he resigned as Prime Minister on the ground of ill health." ("Collected Biographies of Fan Sui and Ts'ai Tse" in Historical Records) His successor Ts'ai Tse also had to resign of his own accord after serving as the Prime Minister of Ch'in for only a few months due to his fear of attack by the aristocratic slave-owner clique. The stepping down of Fan Sui and Ts'ai Tse showed of course that they dared not carry the cause of political reforms through to the end because they had their personal safety and family fortune to consider. Meanwhile, this also showed profoundly that after the landlord class took over the reins of power in the Ch'in State, the serious struggle between those for and against restoration was still going on.

II

During this protracted struggle which was beset with twists and turns and ups and downs between the landlord class and the aristocratic slave-owners, Ch'in Shih Huang inherited the cause of Shang Yang and Fan Sui and became the ambitious sovereign that consummated the feudal cause of unification all over China.

After Ch'in Shih Huang came to power, the struggle for establishing the dictatorship of the landlord class developed to a new stage. Ch'in Shih Huang had adopted two steps of strategic significance: First, he extirpated the clique headed by Lü Pu-wei to insure the victory of the unification war and the founding of Ch'in Dynasty. Second, he enforced the revolutionary measure of "burning books and burying scholars alive" to consolidate the political power of the landlord class. These two historic events represented the continuation of the protracted struggle between the newly emerging landlord class and the slave-owning aristocracy already on the decline in the Ch'in State as well as the continuation of the 150 years long struggle between those for and against restoration since Shang Yang's political reforms in the Ch'in State.

Lü Pu-wei was not a representative of the landlord class, but a representative of the slave-owning aristocracy. Toward the end of the period of the Warring States, the prime ministers of the six states, including Ch'i and Ch'u, were all aristocrats from imperial families--for example, T'ien Chi, T'ien Ying and T'ien Wen of the Ch'i State, Yin Tzu-lan and Huang Hsieh of the Ch'u State, Chao Sheng of the Chao State, etc. Only the Ch'in State made use of a large number of guest ministers--those intellectuals of the landlord class who could not stay in the six states and had to flee to the Ch'in State, such as Fan Sui, Ts'ai Tse, Li Szu, etc. At the time, however, the slave-owners engaged in industry and commerce were still very powerful in the Ch'in State, and they formed the most important social basis of the restoration activities. As recorded by "Collected Biographies of Hoarding and Wealth" in the Historical Records, Wu Shih-ko and Pa-chia-fu-ch'ing of the Ch'in State and the Cho family of Szechwan each had 1,000 servants(slaves) and they were as rich as the sovereigns. Lü Pu-wei was the most well-known representative of this social force. He was a "leading merchant of Yangchai" with 10,000 "household servants" and "a family that needed 1,000 gold coins to run." ("Biography of Lü Pu-wei in Historical Records) He was a big slave-owner. Through speculation in politics, he became the Prime Minister of King Chuang Hsiang of Ch'in. Lü Pu-wei owed his office to the support of Madame Hua Yang and other aristocratic slave-owner groups of the Ch'in State, and his assumption of office was the result of the restoration activities of the slave-owner class at the time.

After Lü Pu-wei came to power in the Ch'in State, he made every effort to push through a reactionary political line for the restoration of the system of slavery. In the economic field, he violently opposed the traditional policy of the Ch'in State "to invigorate the foundation and enfeeble the secondary." He talked nonsense saying that the "foundation" did not refer to "farming" but to "filial piety" and "virtue" (Spring and Autumn Annals of the Lü House, Vol. XIV) in a vain attempt to uphold the interests of the slave-owner class and to sabotage the economic base of the landlord class--feudal agricultural economy. In the cultural and ideological field, Lü Pu-wei recruited a group of [illegible] tuals dissatisfied with the new system to compile the Spring and Autumn Annals of the Lü House in a vain attempt to oppose and replace the Legalist school of thought with its traditional standing in the Ch'in State.

The release of the Spring and Autumn Annals of the Lü House reflected a new tendency for class struggle and the contention between the Confucian and Legalist schools of thought at the time. Toward the end of the period of the Warring States, due to the further deterioration of the forces of the slave-owner class already on the decline, the standing of [illegible] "practical learning" of the Confucian and Mencian school of thought had become shaky and was in the state of disintegration. On the contrary, the Legalist school grew stronger every day along with the newly emerging landlord class, and there emerged such outstanding representative figures as Hsün K'uang and Han Fei. Therefore, it was not possible to unfurl the Confucian banner in the Ch'in State at the time, and the trash of the Confucian school could only be peddled under the signboard of "miscellaneous school" and labeled as eclecticism. The Spring and Autumn Annals of the Lü House superficially advertised the accommodation of all schools of thought, but it essentially took the Confucian school of thought

as its core and also adopted the Taoist school of thought. The Confucian school publicized that the old order of rule based on the system of slavery could not be altered, and the Taoist school proclaimed that the establishment of the new order of feudal rule was neither necessary nor possible. Although the two were at variance in form, they were essentially for upholding the old aristocratic rule of the slave-owners on the decline. The Spring and Autumn Annals of the Lü House was a hotchpotch of the different kinds of ideology of the slave-owner class. It advocated "benevolence" and "righteousness" of the Confucian school (Spring and Autumn Annals of the Lü House, Volumes XXI and XIX) and also added the thought of doing nothing in administration. Its basic purpose was to return to the old order and to restore the system of slavery advocated by the Confucian school.

As soon as Ch'in Shih Huang ascended the throne, he was faced with a serious struggle against the aristocratic slave-owner clique headed by Lü Pu-wei. As the general representative of the newly emerging landlord class, Ch'in Shih Huang naturally sought the Legalist thought of Han Fei and use it as an ideological weapon against restoration. Both Han Fei and Li Szu were the disciples of philosopher Hsün. According to records, after Ch'in Shih Huang read Han Fei's works, he said with a sigh, "If I could make friend with this man, I would die without regrets." ("Collected Biographies of Tao Tzu and Han Fei" in Historical Records) The second year after Ch'in Shih Huang came to power, in accordance with Han Fei's principle, "erring ministers should not be left unpunished, and the commoners should not be left unrewarded for their virtue" ("Yu Tu" in Works of Philosopher Han Fei), he implemented the policy of "the prime minister must come from a prefecture, and brave generals must rise from the ranks ("Practical Learning" in Works of Philosopher Han Fei), and dismissed Lü Pu-wei from office. After Lü Pu-wei was relieved of his office, he did not repent, but went on to work secretly in collusion with the old aristocrats of the six states, and plotted to machinate insurrection. After his plot was discovered, he committed suicide for fear of punishment in the year 235 B.C. The disappearance of the force under Lü Pu-wei signified the further consolidation of the rule of the landlord class in the Ch'in State. From then on, it only took Ch'in Shih Huang more than ten years to unify the whole of China, and a feudal empire based on the centralization of authority was founded by the year 221 B.C. This was a great victory for the newly emerging landlord class, and was also a great victory for the Legalist school of thought. It signified the conclusion of slave society and the ushering in of feudal society in China.

The "burning of books and burying of scholars alive" was caused by the controversy over whether the system of prefectures and counties based on centralization of authority should be firmly adhered to or the system of conferring titles on feudal princes in slave society should be restored. This was a fundamental question implicating state institutions and the nature of political power. In this incident, the interests of the aristocratic slave-owners were represented by the group of Confucian scholars who firmly adhered to the Confucian doctrines.

After the founding of the Ch'in Dynasty, the strength of the slave-owning aristocrats of the Ch'in State had basically collapsed in the political and economic spheres. But in the ideological sphere, they had still considerable strength due to the infiltration of large numbers of Confucian scholars into the government organs and cultural departments. According to historical records, of the seventy scholars of profound learning in the court, quite a number were Confucian scholars. Among the local dignitaries, there were such Confucian scholars as K'ung Fu, Chang Erh and Ch'en Yü. Some of these persons were extremely dissatisfied with the new system, and they started a new polemic on whither the Ch'in Dynasty.

In this polemic, Prime Minister Wang Wan jumped forth first. He took the stand of the aristocratic slave-owners and recommended the restoration of

the system of conferment of titles on feudal princes. Governor Li Szu took the stand of the Legalist school and firmly opposed turning back the wheel of history. He pointed out that if the system of conferment of titles on feudal princes were restored, the feudal princes would "attack each other as though they were enemies" ("Biographic Sketches of Ch'in Shih Huang" in Historical Records) and the past situation marked by disunity and confused fighting in slave society would inevitably be restored. Ch'in Shih Huang summed up the historical experience drawn from the struggle between those for and against restoration in the Ch'in State and agreed with Li Szu's view on upholding unity and opposing disunity. He was of the opinion that "the country had fought bitterly and incessantly because of the feudal princes" and that "since order has just been restored in the country, if feudal states were set up again, it would be to invite war." He firmly enforced the system of prefectures and counties, "divided the country into thirty-six prefectures" (Ibid.), sent officials from the Central Government to govern them, and founded the feudal empire based on centralization of authority.

However, the overthrown class was unwilling to step down from the stage of its own accord. The aristocratic slave-owners went on to create public opinion and attack the system of prefectures and counties through their agents in the government organs of the Ch'in Dynasty. In the year 213 B.C., at a banquet held in the Hsienyang Palace, Doctor Ch'un-yü Yueh who took the stand of the Confucian school jumped forth and said, "We have not heard of anyone who can last long without learning from the past." (Ibid.) He flagrantly advocated restoring the system of slavery of the Yin and Chou dynasties. Consequently, a new debate was once again whipped up in the court.

In this controversy, Li Szu firmly refuted the theory of the Confucian school in "using the past to denounce the present." He emphasized that "the five emperors could not be restored and the three dynasties could not be succeeded to" (Ibid.) and that there was no way out in turning back the wheel of history. He also pointed out: "The scholars do not learn from the present but learn from the past to find fault with the present." (Ibid.) This was aimed at creating public opinion for restoration and should be suppressed. He pointed out that the Confucian scholars advertised themselves with "private schools." "As soon as they learn of the issue of orders, they promptly discuss them among themselves, express their disagreement with them and make known their views in the streets." (Ibid.) Should this be allowed to go on, the consolidation of the political power of the landlord class would be threatened. He therefore called for the exercise of dictatorship by the landlord class over the slave-owner class in the ideological and cultural spheres. Ch'in Shih Huang approved Li Szu's recommendation and ordered the confiscation of "the Book of Odes, the Book of History and the sayings of diverse schools of thought." He forbade "the use of the past to hamper the present" so as "to distinguish between black and white and unify the way of thinking." (Ibid.) Faced with total destruction, the reactionary slave-owning aristocracy put up a death-bed struggle. The Confucian scholars represented by Lu Sheng and Hou Sheng tried their utmost to vilify the "rule of law" as "taking pleasure in inspiring awe through penalty and killing." They attacked the practice of centralization of authority by Ch'in Shih Huang as "not yielding to reason or advice" and "covetousness for power." (Ibid.) They fanned the fire everywhere and spread rumors to hoodwink the masses. For the sake of consolidating the newly established dictatorship of the feudal landlord class, Ch'in Shih Huang had to suppress these reactionary Confucian scholars involved in activities to restore the system of slavery, and he "buried alive" 460 Confucian scholars at Hsienyang.

The state machinery has always been the tool for one class to oppress another class. The "burning of books and burying of scholars alive" was a measure which the landlord class had to adopt at the time for consolidating its newly established political power. As Chairman Mao has pointed out, "To

overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." Back in the days Duke Hsiao of Ch'in was in power, for the sake of consolidating the fruits of political reforms, Shang Yang had put forward the view of "burning the Book of Odes and the Book of History to make known law and order." ("Ho Family" in Works of Philosopher Han Fei) In his debate with the Confucian school, Legalist Han Fei even called for "dissolving its confederates." ("Kuei Shih" in Works of Philosopher Han Fei) However, because the key sectors of the struggle lay in the political and economic spheres at the time, and the contradiction and struggle in the ideological sphere were not as acute and prominent as at the time of Ch'in Shih Huang, the past sovereigns reigning before Ch'in Shih Huang did not adopt measures for the firm suppression of the Confucian school of thought by law. Ch'in Shih Huang enforced the policy of "burning books and burying scholars alive" because after summing up the experience drawn from the struggle between those for and against restoration in the course of founding the Ch'in Dynasty, he gradually realized the truth that "without burning the six arts, the new sovereign could not be honored." (Chang T'ai-yen's "Ch'in Hsien Chi")

It can be seen from the above that the eruption of the incident of "burning of books and burying scholars alive" was not because Ch'in Shih Huang was "ruthless" by nature, but was the inevitable trend of class struggle at the time. Ch'in Shih Huang was "more fond of literature than other sovereigns" and was not aimed at "destroying literature." Among the 70 scholars of profound learning in the Ch'in Dynasty, at least eight had not been buried according to the historical records. Although some of them held a different political view, yet because they did not covertly participate in conspiratorial activities, they still could write as usual "what they wanted to write." (Ibid.)

However, those diehard Confucian scholars who firmly adhered to the stand of the slave-owner class already on the decline were different from the ordinary Confucian scholars. They secretly whipped up the evil wind and fanned the fire. They adopted a most hostile attitude toward the new feudal political power and were the ultra-Right elements among the Confucian scholars. If they were not sternly suppressed, the economic status and state power of the newly emerging landlord class could not be consolidated, and a general retrogression toward the slave society would take place all over China. Therefore, the "burning of books and burying of scholars alive" was a self-defense measure of the class which Ch'in Shih Huang was forced to take in the face of the attack launched by the aristocratic slave-owners, and was a revolutionary action for defending the new relations of production in history. Most progressive thinkers in Chinese history adopted the attitude of hailing this revolutionary action. Li Pai, the great poet of the T'ang Dynasty, said, "The Emperor of Ch'in swept through the whole country; how heroic was the gaze of that tiger!" (Li Pai's "The Emperor of Ch'in Swept Through the Whole Country") Li Chih, a renegade from the Confucian school of the Ming Dynasty, eulogized Ch'in Shih Huang as "the only emperor of the past." ("Li Chih's "Book Collection Catalogue, Vol. II") Bourgeois revolutionary Chang T'ai-yen candidly admitted that Ch'in Shih Huang "did not leave the commoners unrewarded and did not shy from punishing those close to him," "nor did he kill any innocent official." Had there been a proper successor to the Ch'in Dynasty, "not even four sets of three emperors and six sets of five kings could emulate him." (Chang T'ai-yen's "Ch'in Cheng Chi") All reactionaries of the past down to Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and all those agents of the landlord and bourgeois classes as well as of imperialism, revisionism and reaction, have cursed Ch'in Shih Huang and lauded the Confucian school. The historical facts have shown that how to appraise Ch'in Shih Huang and Confucius is at all times a protracted class struggle in the ideological sphere.

III

Chairman Mao points out, "In past history, before they won state power and for some time afterward, the slave-owning class, the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie were vigorous, revolutionary and progressive; they were real tigers. But with the lapse of time, because their opposites--the slave class, the peasant class and the proletariat--grew in strength step by step, struggled against them more and more fiercely, these ruling classes changed step by step into the reverse, changed into reactionaries, changed into paper tigers. And eventually they were overthrown or will be overthrown by the people." The change of the rulers of the landlord class from honoring the Legalist school and opposing the Confucian school into honoring the Confucian school and opposing the Legalist school is in correspondence with this historical process of transformation of the landlord class from the revolutionary into the reactionary, from the advanced into the backward.

The Ch'in Dynasty was the first dynasty founded by the landlord class in history. Soon after its seizure of political power, due to its lack of experience in administration, this exploiting class sharpened its class contradiction with the peasant class. Ch'en Sheng and Wu Kuang rose in insurrection, and finally the first great peasant uprising in Chinese history broke out. This uprising pushed forward history and revealed the great strength of the slaves as makers of history. As Liu Tsung-yuan pointed out in "On Feudalism," this situation was "caused by general dissatisfaction and was not the fault of the system of prefectures and counties." In the course of founding the Han Dynasty, there also had arisen the controvery over whether to adhere firmly to the progressive feudal system or to retreat to the backward system of slavery. Confucian scholar Li Shih-ch'i had counselled Liu Pang to enforce the system of conferment of titles on feudal princes, and even the seals for the feudal princes had been carved. But at the dissuasion of Chang Liang, Liu Pang finally woke up and realized that there was no way out in retrogression. He angrily scolded Li Shih-ch'i saying, "You fool, you have almost spoiled my cause!" ("Hereditary Family of Marquis of Liu" in Historical Records)

The institutions of the Ch'in Dynasty were inherited by the Han Dynasty. By the time of Emperor Wu, the rebellions in Wu, Ch'u and five other states had been suppressed, the critical moment of the restoration of the system of slavery was over, and the contradiction between the landlord class and the peasant class which had been in existence right from the beginning rose to become the principal contradiction. The landlord class of that time was gradually transformed from a real tiger into a paper tiger, and its past vigorous and revolutionary character as a progressive class was lost. Under such historical conditions, the hypocritical and conservative Confucian school of thought which advised people to be content with their lot became more favorable to the feudal rule than the Legalist school of thought which was outspoken in propagating the dictatorship of the landlord class and advocating political reforms. Consequently there emerged the phase of "banning all schools of thought and solely honoring the Confucian learning." From then on, the reformed Confucian doctrines turned to serve the landlord class, the new master, and the Confucian school of learning became the dominant thought in subsequent feudal society.

By making an all-round survey of the struggle between those for and against restoration in the course of founding the Ch'in Dynasty, it can be seen that the replacement of one social system by another had to go through a tortuous path which was filled with bloodshed and sacrifices, and temporary retrogression and partial restoration also could emerge. However, the laws governing the development of history could not be resisted, and the new social system would eventually replace the old social system. Although Ch'in Shih Huang was long since dead, his institutions managed to survive at all times in the feudal society. Materialist thinker Liu Tsung-yüan of the T'ang

Dynasty said, "Those who reigned after Han will be known a hundred generations afterward." (Liu Tsung-yüan's "On Feudalism") Materialist thinker Wang Fu-chih of the Ming Dynasty pointed out, "The system of prefectures and counties has been in force for 2,000 years and cannot be changed." (Wang Fu-chih's "Tu T'ung Chien Lun: Ch'in Shih Huang) This is in correspondence with historical reality.

"Were Nature sentient, she too would pass from youth to age; but in man's world seas change into mulberry fields." No reactionary force can stem the advance of history. Today, under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao, we have founded socialist new China under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and are in the course of continuing with the socialist revolution and construction and the struggle for the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and the development of the socialist cause. This likewise cannot be obstructed by any reactionary force. "The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system--this is a law independent of man's will." The study of the historical experience of class struggle has strengthened our conviction in this truth. Despite the scornful attack by reactionaries of the past and the present in China and other countries, including the Soviet revisionists, Lin Piao and their like, Ch'in Shih Huang had his own historic merits. He was an expert in laying more emphasis on the present than on the past, a thoroughgoing and successful practitioner of the Legalist school of thought, a statesman of the landlord class in consummating and upholding the unification of China. This is the conclusion of history.

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On Criticism of Confucius and Self-Criticism of My Past Ideological Inclination To Honor Confucius

by

Feng Yu-lan (冯友兰)

Kuang-ming Jih-pao Editor's Note:

The Academic Journal of Peking University No. 4 of this year carried in its "Philosophy and Social Science Section" Mr. Feng Yu-lan's two articles entitled "On Criticism of Confucius and Self-Criticism of My Past Ideological Inclination To Honor Confucius" and "The Struggle between the Two Lines for and against the Restoration of the Old Order." In his articles, while criticizing the reactionary thought of Confucius, he also criticized his past ideological inclination to honor Confucius and to give publicity to the "abstract law of inheritance" with regard to the legacy of Chinese philosophy. This is progress that deserves to be welcomed. These two articles will be reproduced by this paper today and tomorrow for the reference of the reading public.

Confucius was a reactionary thinker who stubbornly upheld the system of slavery. For several thousand years, his reactionary thought has been utilized by the reactionary classes of all times and all countries. Swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao have also eulogized Confucius and utilized Confucian thought to serve their counter-revolutionary restoration plots. It is precisely because of this that the deep-going development of the struggle to criticize Confucius and the viewpoint based on honoring the Confucian school and opposing the Legalist school is essential to the development of the current situation of class struggle at home and abroad, an important part of the movement for criticizing Lin Piao and rectifying the style of work, and a long-term task in carrying out the socialist revolution within the sphere of the superstructure.

From Mr. Feng Yu-lan's articles, it can be seen that his progress was gained during the great proletarian cultural revolution, in the movement for criticizing Lin Piao and rectifying the style of work, and also in the course of actively participating in the struggle to criticize Confucius. We welcome the broad masses of intellectuals, including those who were more deeply poisoned by Confucian thought in the past, to play an active part in the struggle to criticize Confucius, to seriously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung's thought and practice self-education in the struggle, and to raise their awareness of the line, transform their world outlook and strive to keep pace with the socialist revolution in the struggle.

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Since the May 4 Movement, the overthrow of the "Confucian school" or the protection of the "Confucian school" has been an important part of the struggle between the two classes and the two lines in the ideological sphere. Prior to the great cultural revolution, I was always for protecting the "Confucian school." Before liberation, this was for serving the big landlords,

the big bourgeoisie and the Kuomintang reactionaries. After liberation, this was for serving the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i.

The great cultural revolution has raised my understanding of Confucius. My present criticism of Confucius is also a self-criticism of my past protection of the "Confucian school" in thought and deed.

Confucian thought covers many aspects. Let me first start with "virtuous government" as publicized by Confucius.

Confucius said: "He who exercises government by means of his virtue may be compared to the north polar star, which keeps its place and all the stars turn toward it." (Confucian Analects: "Wei Cheng") He meant to say that if a sovereign could rule the people by means of his "virtue," he could keep his place like the north polar star, and other stars would turn toward him. He also said: "If the people are led by laws, and uniformity is sought in giving them punishment, they will try to avoid the punishment, but will have no sense of shame. If they are led by virtue, and uniformity is sought in ruling them by propriety, they will have a sense of shame, and moreover they will become good." (Ibid.) He meant to say that in ruling the people, if a sovereign merely guided them with "law" and restrained them with "punishment," the people could be kept from committing crimes but could not know that it was a shame to commit crimes. If he could guide them with his "virtue" and restrain them with the "rule of propriety," the people not only would not commit crimes but also would know that it was a shame to commit crime. These three passages were used by Confucius to expound "virtuous government."

My comprehension and appraisal of these statements went through three stages of evolution.

In 1958, in the name of teaching the "question of inheriting the legacy of Chinese philosophy," I put forward my so-called "abstract law of inheritance" to rival the Marxist-Leninist class analysis method. Prior to this, I always used this method to teach the history of Chinese philosophy. According to this method, attention was paid only to the superficial and verbal meaning of a sentence, with no attention paid to its actual content and especially its class content. For example, I stated in my old "History of Chinese Philosophy" that what Confucius taught as "virtue" referred to the moral quality of the individual. What Confucius taught as "propriety" referred to social norms, including social customs and habits as well as the political and social institutions. What Confucius taught as "led by virtue" meant the need to raise the moral quality of the people. What he taught as "giving the people a uniform rule of propriety" meant the need to strengthen the restraint of the conduct of the individual with social norms, the need to create a set of customs and habits and a kind of public opinion so as to make the people sense the shame of immoral conduct and illegal behavior. In this way, the people naturally would not commit crimes. His way of doing things emphasized raising the moral quality of the people and strengthening social influence. This would be much better as compared with the use of coercion through prohibition and penalty to make the people dare not commit crimes. This showed that Confucius respected the dignity of "man."

This sought to explain the words "virtue" and "propriety" as taught by Confucius by taking their abstract meaning. Anyone honoring Confucius basically adopted this method, but I especially made conscious use of this method and put it forward as a method for covering up the class content of various schools of thought in the history of philosophy, for confusing the class struggle front at the time, and for distorting the laws governing the development of the history of philosophy. This was not just a question of method, but was, in the final analysis, a question of class stand, a question of taking a side in the struggle between the two classes and the two lines at the time.

Prior to the great cultural revolution, although I also made some superficial criticism of the abstract law of inheritance, I had not changed my exploiting class stand. When I wrote the "New Edition of History of Chinese Philosophy," I still used the abstract law of inheritance--especially when I talked about Confucius.

In the course of the great cultural revolution, I gradually realized the meaning of Lenin's teaching that "truth is specific." What Confucius taught as "virtue" and "propriety" also has a specific content, and its class content is especially important. Take moral quality for example. The moral qualities advocated by different classes each has its own class content. The moral quality advocated by the proletariat is to serve the people, to overthrow all exploiting classes and to build a socialist society and a communist society. In the eyes of the exploiting classes, such quality means "offending their superiors and stirring up confusion" and is the greatest evil. Different classes also have different social norms. The proletarian revolution seeks to smash the social norms of the exploiting classes and institute its own social norms.

After acquiring this understanding, it dawned on me that those methods taught by Confucius such as "led by virtue" sought nothing more than to further benumb and deceive the laboring people so that they neither dared nor desired to put up resistance. Consequently all ideas and deeds of "offending against their superiors and stirring up confusion" could basically be eliminated.

Lenin once said: "For the sake of upholding their rule, all oppressor classes need to exercise two functions: the function of the hangman and the function of the priest. The hangman is needed to suppress the resistance and insurrection of the oppressed. The priest is needed to console the oppressed and to project for them future prospects of less suffering and sacrifice through preserving class rule (these words are especially easy to utter because there is no need to guarantee the 'realization' of such future prospects...) so as to make them tolerate such rule, abandon their revolutionary action and give up their revolutionary enthusiasm, thus undermining their revolutionary determination." ("Bankruptcy of the Second International," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. II, page 638) This meant the use of double-faced tactics--the tactic of persecution and suppression and the tactic of benumbing and deceiving. The two methods of "led by laws" and "led by virtue" as taught by Confucius for ruling the people were the double-faced tactics cited by Lenin. Scheming for the rulers at the time, Confucius said that as he saw it, the priest was more effective than the hangman. Speaking in a certain sense, under given conditions, the use of the priest was also definitely more vicious.

However, Confucius also held that "penalties" were indispensable. At the time, the Cheng State used troops to suppress the "bandits" and "slayed all of them." Confucius said: "Excellent! When the government is lenient the people are sluggish and sluggishness must be rectified with severity." (Tso Chuan 20th Year of Duke Chao) "Sluggishness" meant arrogance. This meant to say that if the ruler was too lenient to the people, the people would despise him. This called for the use of severe measures to "rectify" them. When Confucius was himself in power, he also killed Shao Cheng Mao.

The Confucian scholars of the Han Dynasty said: To rule the people and consolidate the feudal rule, "propriety, music, law and penalties" are all indispensable. "Propriety, music, law and penalties have one and the same end--to unite the people and insure peace and order." This meant to say that the ultimate aims of these four things were identical--to rule the people. They also said: "When propriety, music, law and penalties are observed and not violated in all corners of the country, there is an enlightened reign of righteousness." (Book of Rites: "On Music") This meant to say that both the functions of the hangman and the priest were essential.

In the course of making deep-going criticism of Confucius this time, I have also acquired a higher understanding of Confucius.

At present, I feel that the above criticism made against Confucius is also applicable to the subsequent feudal philosophers. Such criticism by itself has not bared the salient features of Confucian thought, and it is necessary to go further and deeper in making criticism.

Confucius had a disciple called Fan Ch'ih. Fan Ch'ih told Confucius that he wanted to learn husbandry and gardening. Confucius denounced him as a "mean man" and aired his view saying: "A mean man, indeed, is Fan Hsü! If a superior loves propriety, the people will have to be reverent. If he loves righteousness, the people will have to submit to his example. If he loves good faith, the people will have to be sincere. Now, when these things obtain, the people from all quarters will come to him, bearing their children on their backs;--what need has he of a knowledge of husbandry?" (Confucian Analects: "Tzu Lu")

In this statement, Confucius affirmed the antagonism of the two classes in society at the time. The members of one class were called "superior men" (meaning the "lords" of the time) who were "those at the higher level" (meaning the rulers and oppressors) and had nothing to do with husbandry (meaning that they were not the exploited laborers). Those of the antagonistic class were the "inferiors," "those at the lower levels," "the people," the "commoners" (meaning the ruled and the exploited) who were husbandmen (meaning the exploited laboring people).

In his statement, Confucius also affirmed that "the superiors love propriety" for the purpose of making "the people be reverent," that "the superiors love righteousness" for the purpose of making "the people submit to their example," and that "the superiors love good faith" for the purpose of making "the people be sincere" (meaning making the people work honestly). Speaking in this way, the aim of loving propriety, righteousness and good faith was for ruling the people. Love of propriety, righteousness and good faith concerned only "those at the higher level." Confucius was of the opinion that if "those at the higher level" assumed these postures, they could influence the people, and make the people respect them, submit to them and honestly work for them. Confucius had said, "The relation between superiors and inferiors is like that between the wind and the grass. The grass must bend, when the wind blows across it." (Confucian Analects: "Yen Yüan") Confucius meant to make the grass of the "inferiors" bend with the "wind of virtue" of the "superiors." This was the real meaning of "led by virtue."

In this statement, Confucius used "have to " three times in succession. This fully exposed the ferocious look of the "superior men."

Confucius was of the opinion that "perfect virtue" was the highest moral principle. Recorded in the Confucian Analects are a good number of statements by Confucius on "perfect virtue" and their contents are also not entirely the same. The more important ones are now cited for example:

(1) "Yen Yüan asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, 'To subdue one's self and return to propriety is perfect virtue. If a man can for one day subdue himself and return to propriety, all under heaven will ascribe perfect virtue to him.'" (Confucian Analects: "Yen Yüan")

(2) "Chung-kung asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, 'It is, when you go abroad, to behave to every one as if you were receiving a great guest; to employ the people as if you were assisting at a great sacrifice; not to do to others as you would not wish done to yourself.'" (Confucian Analects: "Yen Yüan")

(3) "Fan Ch'ih asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, 'It is to love men.'" (Confucian Analects: "Yen Yüan")

(4) "Tzu-chang asked Confucius about perfect virtue. Confucius said, 'To be able to practice five things everywhere under heaven constitutes perfect virtue.' He beggged to ask what they were, and was told, 'Gravity, generosity of soul, sincerity, earnestness and kindness. If you are grave, you will not be treated with disrespect. If you are generous, you will win all. If you are sincere, people will repose trust in you. If you are earnest, you will accomplish much. If you are kind, this will enable you to employ the services of others.'" (Confucian Analects: "Yang Huo")

Viewed from its (1), (2) and (4), what Confucius said about "perfect virtue" mainly referred to the "superior men." He said that if person could "subdue himself and return to propriety," all under heaven would submit to such a man of "virtue." Such a person must of course be a man of high political standing. No matter what an "inferior man" did, he also could not win the allegiance of all under heaven.

Item (2) said that to employ the people was a serious matter and was as serious as if you were assisting at a great sacrifice. This was of course said of a man of very high standing. An "inferior man" was himself a "commoner" who could only be employed but was not qualified to "employ the people."

In item (4) Confucius said: If you are generous to the people, you can win over the masses. If you are kind to the people, you can make the people serve you better. This was also said of a man of very high political standing. An "inferior man" himself was a member of the "masses." He had no need to "win over the masses" and had nothing to do with "winning over the masses." He himself was the "employed" and was fundamentally not qualified to "employ the people."

Viewed from what Confucius described here as "generosity" and "kindness," his so-called "love of men" also meant at most to show some minor kindness to the laboring people so as to win over the masses and make it easier for him to make use of the laboring people.

It could be seen that what Confucius called "perfect virtue" was the moral principle of what he described as the "superior men," and the so-called "inferior men" were excluded. He categorically said, "Superior men, and yet not always virtuous, there have been, alas! But there has never been a mean man, who, at the same time, was virtuous." (Confucian Analects: "Hsien Wen") He meant to say that among the "superior men," some had not the moral concept of "virtue," and that among the "mean people" there could not be such morality. He also said, "The people may be made to follow a path of action, but they may not be made to understand it." (Confucian Analects: "T'ai Po") He meant to say that the "mean men" could only be told to follow the lead given but could not be permitted to know anything. He also said, "When the man of high station is well instructed, he loves men; when the man of low station is well instructed, he is easily ruled." (Confucian Analects: "Yang Huo") He meant to say that if the "man of high station" was well "instructed" (in the ideology of the superior man), he could love men and could show some minor kindness to the laboring people. If the "man of low station" was well "instructed," he was more easily employed. Confucius had clearly bared in these statements the class content of his so-called "perfect virtue."

Not only was the "perfect virtue" as taught by Confucius a moral principle for the "superior men." All moral principles taught by Confucius were basically the same. Since "not to do to others as you would not wish done

to yourself" was also in item (2), it could be seen that it was also for the edification of "superior men" and was an agreement between one "superior man" and another.

It can be seen from the above that those so-called "superior men" of Confucius were the slave-owning aristocrats. As taught by Confucius, the attitude adopted by the "superior men" toward the "mean men" was precisely the attitude adopted by the slave owners toward the slaves. The relationship between the "superior men" and the "mean men" as described by him was the relationship between the slave owners and the slaves. In slave society, the slaves were nothing more than a means of production. The slave owners were of the opinion that the slaves had no moral principles to speak of. If they had any morality, it was to submit to the biddings of the slave owners. The thought of Confucius reflected such production relations. In the West, the thought of Plato, a typical slave-owning philosopher, was like this.

The thought of the feudal philosophers and the thought of the slave-owning philosophers were sometimes at variance on this point. For example, Wang Yang-ming, a thinker of the landlord class, said, "The streets are full of sages." "Everybody has conscience." (Outwardly he acknowledged that everybody had conscience, but actually he still thought that sages were fundamentally different from the ordinary people. Only those of the ruling class could become sages, but not the laboring people.) These statements of his were made to further deceive and benumb the laboring people. However, his allegations were somewhat different from those of the slave-owning philosophers. Such difference was also a reflection of the difference in production relations between the slave society and the feudal society. It was also for further deceiving and benumbing the laboring people that the bourgeois philosophers publicized "liberty, equality and fraternity." Their allegations were, however, somewhat different from those of the feudal philosophers, and such difference also reflected the difference in production relations. In the past, when some people--including me--discussed what Confucius called "perfect virtue," they thought that Confucius also had the idea of equality and fraternity and that he had discovered the "dignity of man." According to these allegations, it seemed that a philosopher could depart from the production relations in his society and create some concepts in his mind. This absolutely could not be done. Such allegations were based on the idealist conception of history and not the materialist conception of history.

Toward the end of the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals, the whole slave society was already in the process of breaking up. At the time, the slave owners were of course already on the decline. In publicizing the above way of thinking, Confucius was of course in the service of the slave owners already on the decline. He was actually the philosopher of the slave owners already on the decline.

The chapter "Yao Yüeh" in the Confucian Analects eulogized the feats of King Wu of the Chou Dynasty saying that he "revived states that had been extinguished, restored families whose line of succession had been broken, and called to office those who had retired into obscurity." These three phrases also could constitute part of the political program of Confucius in "making an Eastern Chou" (in other words, restoring the old order of the slave owners). Confucius wanted to revive the states of the slave owners that had been extinguished, groom and back up the descendants of the slave-owning aristocrats who had lost their political standing and bring back the slave-owning aristocrats who had declined to become the common people. This meant the wholesale restoration of the old order of the slave society.

I have no intention of making an all-round criticism of all facets of Confucius' political attitude and thought. I merely want to give a few pieces of evidence that come to mind to supplement to some extent the evidence recently given by other comrades.

I have explained what Confucius called "love of men" as love of all men. In point of fact, as explained above, it was not possible for the "superior men" referred to by Confucius to love all men. What Confucius actually loved was but a handful of slave-owning aristocrats. He also had talked about "overflow in love to all." (Confucian Analects: "Hsueh Erh") This also meant nothing more than to say, "if you are generous, you will win all." Another point is that the word "all" has been added by me. Confucius had never said that the word "men" in "love of men" referred to all men, nor had he said that this word "men" must be extended. As item (4) cited above showed, what Confucius called "love of men" meant nothing more than to show some minor kindness to the laboring people.

Why was it necessary to show some minor kindness? This was because toward the end of the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals, the system of slavery was already "a dying person sinking fast, like the sun setting beyond the western hills." The slave owners had already lost control over the slaves. The slaves either offered resistance or ran away. For the sake of alleviating their resistance or preventing their running away, and of contesting with the feudal class for labor power, emphasis was laid on showing minor kindness to the slaves. The thought of Confucius reflected the situation of such class struggle.

Lenin cited the words of Feuerbach: "Anyone who consoles the slaves without arousing them to rise against the system of slavery is the accomplice of the slave owners." ("Bankruptcy of the Second International," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. II, page 638) This assertion is also applicable to Confucius.

In the feudal society after the Han Dynasty, Confucius had become the "supreme master" of feudal ideology. Subsequently, Yüan Shih-k'ai, Chiang Kai-shek and Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and company all went on to honor Confucius, because all of them advocated that exploitation and oppression were justified, while rebellion was not.

Among the tablet inscriptions recording the posthumous conferment of titles on Confucius by emperors of all ages in the Confucian Temple at Ch'üfu, the one by the Yüan Dynasty concisely eulogized Confucius for his "meritorious service" to the feudal ruling class. The meritorious service of Confucius to the feudal ruling class was a criminal act against the laboring people. As far as the laboring people are concerned, this inscription has concisely exposed by negative example the criminal act of Confucius.

This inscription began with these words: "It has been said that those who have ascended the throne without Confucius could not see light without Confucius (meaning that Confucius had "summed up" the "experiences" of the rulers reigning before them in the exploitation and oppression of the laboring people). Those who reign after Confucius could not make law without Confucius (meaning that Confucius had laid down the reactionary principle, that is, "the way of the sage," for the subsequent exploiter classes to practice the exploitation and oppression of the laboring people). It ended with these words: "Alas, the close relations between father and son and the moral relations between the sovereign and his ministers have forever upheld the dignity of the way of the sage (meaning that the gist of the 'way of the sage' was to strengthen the bonds for tying down the laboring people). The vastness of the world and the luminosity of the sun and the moon are not as wonderful as his well-known sayings (meaning that Confucius also had a set of 'theories' for use as the basis of these bonds). 'May his divinity bless our sovereign' (meaning the use of the 'ways of Confucius' to benumb and hoodwink the laboring people and to uphold the rule of the Yüan Dynasty)." This article by negative example has actually voluntarily confessed the reactionary nature of the "ways of Confucius" and the political objective of the past dynasties in eulogizing Confucius in the feudal society of China.

Chiang Kai-shek, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao also eulogized Confucius with the same political objective--"May his divinity bless our sovereign."

The meeting convened in 1957 to discuss the history of Chinese philosophy and the Tsinan Conference convened in 1962 to commemorate Confucius all gave expression to the trend of the revisionist line in restoring the old order at the time. During the forum on the history of Chinese philosophy, I publicized the "abstract law of inheritance" to oppose the class analysis method. During the Tsinan Conference I disseminated my arguments for Confucius in the "New Edition of History of Chinese Philosophy." I declared that Confucius was the ideological representative of the fuedal landlord class at the time and that his publicity of "perfect virtue" was "universal in form" and of progressive significance in his time. All this had strengthened the "divinity" of Confucius to serve the revisionist line.

At present, I have been able to improve somewhat on my understanding of Confucius as a result of the great cultural revolution.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is developing in depth. Within the sphere of the history of Chinese philosophy, a new revolution is going on under the personal leadership of Chairman Mao. I am almost 80 years old and have dealt with the history of Chinese philosophy for half a century. It is a great blessing that I am now able to witness this great revolution. Since I am able not only to witness but also take part in this great revolution, this is a still greater blessing. I am resolved to follow Chairman Mao's instructions, seriously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung's thought, transform my world outlook, revise the portion of the "New Edition of History of Chinese Philosophy" that has been published, and complete the portion that has not been written so as to contribute a bit of strength toward the socialist revolution and construction of the motherland.

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What Were Those Systems of Slavery Defended by Confucius

by

Kao Heng (高亨)

The period of Western Chou in China was still a slave-owning society. The period of the Spring and Autumn Annals was a period of transformation from the slave-owning society to the feudal society, while the period of the Warring States formed the early stage of the feudal society. During the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals, due to the extensive use of ironware as tools of production, productivity rapidly rose, and because of the violent struggle waged by the slave class against the slave-owner class, coupled with the struggle for power and wealth among the aristocrats within the different states and the wars fought by the feudal princes of different states for cities and territories, the economic base of the slave-owning society--the relations of production between the slave owners and the slaves--was gradually converted into the economic base of the feudal society--the relations of production between the landlords and the peasants. With the superstructure of the slave-owning society gradually converted into the superstructure of the feudal society, the system of the slave-owning society gradually broke up and the system of the feudal society was gradually born.

Under the old relations of production, the slave-owners remained to be slave-owners, while the slaves remained to be slaves. Under the new relations of production, some slave-owners were transformed into land-owners, and their slaves were transformed into peasants. Meanwhile, because land could be bought and sold, some bigtime merchants bought land and became the newly emerging landlords who leased their land to the peasants for cultivation. In the process of the alternate and forward development of new and old classes and systems in society, the slave-owners and especially the feudal princes and the high officials all stubbornly defended certain systems of the slave-owning society of the Western Chou so as to preserve their special rights in owning land and wielding political power for the domination of the people generation after generation. But the landlords and especially the newly emerging landlords demanded the abolition of those systems and prerogatives. The slave-owners and the newly emerging landlords were also locked in struggle, but the influence of the newly emerging landlords was still not strong enough.

Born in the later part of the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals, Confucius was precisely a thinker who sided with the slave-owners, defended the systems of the slave-owning society and shielded the prerogatives of the slave-owners. Under the historical conditions of the time, his political views were conservative, backward and reactionary. Some people, including myself, had thought that Confucius was a progressive figure who originated all kinds of feudal theories in the political, moral and educational fields for the landlord class in the feudal society. This is wrong in the extreme. It is correct for Comrade Yang Jung-kuo to assert that Confucius was "a thinker who stubbornly defended the system of slavery" in his "History of Ancient Thoughts in China" and his recently published articles. Now I am going to discuss this question.

Confucius' Political Line Was for Upholding the System of Slavery of Western Chou

Confucius was one for the restoration of the old order. His political view was for restoring the rites formulated by the Western Chou Dynasty, that is, restoring the systems of the slave-owning society of Western Chou (what Confucius called propriety or social system and the ceremonies for capping a

young man, wedding, funeral and offering sacrifices. The latter are side issues, and this article discusses only the former).

During the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals, there was still a book about propriety formulated by the Western Chou Dynasty. According to the records in Tso Chuan, "the laws of King Wen of the Chou Dynasty were...." (7th Year of Duke Chao) and "the 'rites of Chou' formulated by the Duke of Chou were...." (18th Year of Duke Wen. Not the Book of Rites now available). According to the records in Kuo Yu, "the 'institutions of Chou' were...." ("Chou Yu") and "the 'official ranks of Chou' were...." (Ibid.). They offered strong evidence. Confucius was for upholding the rites of Chou. He said, "Chou had the advantage of viewing the two past dynasties. How complete and elegant are its regulations! I follow Chou." (Confucian Analects: "Pa I") Following Chou meant inheriting the rites of Chou. He also said, "After the death of King Wen, was not the cause of truth lodged here in me?" (Confucian Analects: "Tzu Han") This meant that he regarded himself as a successor to King Wen. He also said, "Extreme is my decay. For a long time, I have not dreamed, as I was wont to do, that I saw the Duke of Chou." (Confucian Analects: "Shu Erh") This meant to say that he constantly dreamed of inheriting the ideals of the Duke of Chou. Tzu Kung said, "The doctrines of Wen and Wu have not yet fallen to the ground. They are to be found among men. Men of talents and virtue remember the greater principles of them, and others, not possessing such talents and virtue, remember the smaller. Thus, all possess the doctrines of Wen and Wu. Where could our Master go that he should not have an opportunity of learning them?" (Confucian Analects: "Tzu Chang") This meant that what Confucius learned for application were "the doctrines of Wen and Wu." It could be seen from this that Confucius advocated restoring the rites formulated by the Western Chou Dynasty, that is, restoring the institutions of the slave-owning society of Western Chou.

Confucius had said, "The Yin Dynasty followed the regulations of the Hsia: wherein it took from or added to them may be known. The Chou Dynasty has followed the regulations of the Yin: wherein it took from or added to them may be known. Some other may follow the Chou, but though it should be at the distance of a hundred ages, its affairs may be known." (Confucian Analects: "Wei Cheng") Based on these few sentences, some people thought that since Confucius advocated taking from and adding to the rites of Chou, he was for adoption as well as for reform, for inheritance as well as for revision, and hence they vigorously eulogized the progressive character of Confucian thought. They did not examine what were those rites of Chou Confucius wanted to inherit or revise, but just proceeded from the abstract concepts of these few sentences to make wild assertions for prettifying Confucius. This is in every way the idealist and metaphysical viewpoint and method.

Chairman Mao teaches us, "Marxism teaches that in our approach to a problem we should start from objective facts, not from abstract definitions..." Starting from the relatively ancient and trustworthy historical records about Confucius, I have made an initial exploration into what were those rites of Chou Confucius wanted to inherit or revise, and I have come to the conclusion that Confucius was for the wholesale inheritance of the important political institutions of Western Chou.

Confucius Defended the Three Systems of Western Chou --the System of Conferment of Titles, the Caste System and the Hereditary System

The Western Chou Dynasty laid down the system of conferment of titles, the caste system and the hereditary system to uphold the prerogatives of the slave-owners in ruling and exploiting the laboring people (principally the slaves). The system of conferment of titles was adopted by the slave-owners at a higher level for carving up land, the people and political power for bestowal to the slave-owners at a lower level. This was the system of the

slave-owner class for practicing the regional rule and exploitation of the laboring people. The caste system divided people approximately into six castes--the Son of Heaven, the feudal princes, the high officials, the scholars, the commoners and the slaves (according to Tso Chuan, in the 7th year of the Duke Chao and the 2nd year of Duke Ai, there were also servants under the commoners). This was the system of the slave-owners for ruling and exploiting the laboring people by strata. The hereditary system provided that the degree of nobility, land, people and political power of a slave-owner should in principle be inherited by his eldest son generation after generation, although his other sons were also granted certain rights. This was the system of the slave-owners for ruling and exploiting the laboring people generation after generation. (The concrete contents of these three systems were gradually increased or revised.) These three systems were organically linked together to spread a dragnet for preserving the prerogatives of the slave-owning class in the political, economic and cultural fields and in everyday life. It was in essence the spoil-sharing system of the slave-owning class like the bandits in a mountain stronghold, and it most saliently represented the interests of the slave-owning aristocracy.

According to the ancient records of early Ch'in Dynasty, Confucius was for upholding these three systems of Western Chou. Concrete evidence is provided by the following three items:

(1) As recorded in the Confucian Analects, "Confucius said, 'When good government prevails in the empire, ceremonies, music, and punitive military expeditions proceed from the Son of Heaven. When bad government prevails in the empire, ceremonies, music, and punitive military expeditions proceed from the princes...When right principles prevail in the kingdom, government will not be in the hands of the great officers. When right principles prevail in the kingdom, there will be no discussions among the common people.'" ("Chi Shih") It could be seen what Confucius considered to be the ideal society in which good government and right principles prevailed was made up of the Son of Heaven, the feudal princes, the high officials and the commoners, and this meant to say that the system of conferment of titles and the caste system of Western Chou must be upheld (at the time, the feudal princes and the high officials were the products of the system of conferment of titles).

As recorded in the Confucian Analects, Confucius asked Duke Ai of Lu to launch a punitive military expedition against Ch'en Huan of the Ch'i State who murdered the sovereign in the capacity of a minister ("Hsien Wen") He was opposed to Duke Ch'ü of Wei who named his grandson to be his successor, thus standing a son against his father, and he consequently emphasized the "rectification of names." ("Tzu Lu") He was opposed to the three families of the Meng Sun House, the Shu Sun House and the Chi Sun House in the Lu State for their usurpation of royal rites in the capacity of high officials through using the Yung ode, while the vessels were being removed at the conclusion of the sacrifice (Yung was an ode--see "Chou Chung" in the Book of Odes). He was opposed to the Chi Sun House for usurping royal rites in the capacity of a high official through "having eight rows of pantomimes in his area" (with eight dancers in one row). He was opposed to the Chi Sun House for usurping the rites reserved for a feudal prince in the capacity of a high official through offering sacrifices to the T'ai Mountain. He was opposed to Kuan Chung for usurping the rites reserved for a feudal prince in the capacity of a high official through erecting a screen behind the main gate and erecting an earthen stand between the pillars of the court for placing inverted cups. (See "Pa I")

As recorded in Tso Chuan, Confucius advocated cutting down the height of the city walls of three families not compatible with propriety (12th Year of Duke Ting). He was opposed to the sovereign of Wei for permitting Chung-shu Yü-hsi to arrange bells and musical instruments in a concave shape and to adorn the neck of his horse with nine or seven silk bouquets--rites reserved for a feudal prince--in the capacity of a high official (2nd Year of Duke Ch'eng).

Confucius' opposition to these matters of great or little significance fully showed that he vigorously defended the system of conferment of titles, the caste system and the hereditary system of Western Chou.

(2) The book "Spring and Autumn Annals" was compiled by Confucius. Although this book was interpreted in different ways by Tso Chuan, Biography of Kung Yang and Biography of Ku Liang, its main purpose was to defend the system of conferment of titles, the caste system and the hereditary system of Western Chou, and to rectify the names proper to the sovereign, the minister, the father and the son so as to attain the realm of what Confucius described as "when the prince is prince, and the minister is minister; when the father is father, and the son is son." (Confucian Analects: "Yen Yüan")

(3) After Confucius, the Confucian scholars in the period of the Warring States such as Tseng Ts'an and Mencius all defended these three systems of Western Chou and brought them into play. They all carried on the teachings of Confucius.

With these three items of conclusive evidence, we can come to the conclusion that Confucius defended the system of conferment of titles, the caste system and the hereditary system of Western Chou.

These three systems were all the political institutions of the slave-owning society for safeguarding the prerogatives of the slave-owning aristocracy. The concluding stage of the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals saw the development of domination by the slave-owner class toward domination by the landlord class. The impending dominant status of the newly emerging landlords was an inevitable trend of historical development. Domination by the landlord class meant the discarding of the system of conferment of titles of Western Chou and the establishment of the system of prefectures and counties based on the centralization of authority and absolute monarchy; the discarding of the caste system of Western Chou and the establishment of another set of caste system under the principles of centralization of authority and absolute monarchy; the discarding of the hereditary system of Western Chou and the establishment of another clannish system that abolished the hereditary system of aristocracy other than the Son of Heaven. In short, the landlord class of the feudal society was for abolishing the systems that enabled the slave-owning class to rule and exploit the laboring people in different regions and at different levels generation after generation. It was for abolishing the prerogatives of the aristocratic slave-owners at all levels, other than the Son of Heaven, and establishing the system that insured the domination and exploitation of the laboring people by the landlord class and represented the interests of the landlord class. This was the objective law governing social development. The three systems defended by Confucius were the political institutions of the slave-owning society and not the political institutions of the feudal society; they represented the interests of the slave-owners and not the interests of the newly emerging landlords. This view of Confucius was on the side and in the service of the slave-owners. It ran counter to the law of social development and impeded the forward movement of the wheel of history. It was not only conservative and backward but also reactionary.

Confucius Defended the Criminal Laws of Western Chou

All rulers of the slave-owning society had laid down their criminal codes. The criminal code was an important tool for the slave-owners to persecute the laboring people, to maintain their rule and to safeguard their rights. It was an important component of the political system of the slave-owning society. As recorded in Tso Chuan, Hsia had the "Yü Criminal Code," Shang had the "T'ang Criminal Code" and Chou had "nine types of penalty" (6th Year of Duke Chao, and the "nine types of penalty" were also mentioned in the 18th Year of Duke Wen). In the Book of History, there was a chapter dealing with the "Lü Criminal Code." After the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals was

ushered in, the transformation of the slave-owning society toward the feudal society was marked by changes in the economic base and class relations. Some of the slave-owning aristocrats had reformed their criminal codes to meet the requirements of their rule. As recorded in Tso Chuan, the Cheng State cast the criminal code (6th Year of Duke Chao), the Chin State cast the criminal tripod (29th Year of Duke Chao) and the Cheng State also adopted the bamboo criminal code written by Teng Hsi (9th Year of Duke Ting). The contents of these criminal codes could not be examined and only piecemeal information was available. ("Lü Criminal Code" was but the preface to a criminal code) In short, the criminal codes of Hsia, Shang and Western Chou were all tools for upholding the rule of the slave-owning class. The criminal codes of the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals should have affirmed certain rights of the landlords and peasants and negated certain rights of the slave-owners, thus increasing their orientation toward the feudal society and reducing their orientation toward the slave-owning society. It could be concluded by inference that the latter were more progressive than the former.

Confucius was for upholding the criminal laws of Western Chou and opposed to reform. As recorded in Tso Chuan, "Chao Yang and Hsün Yin-shuai, following the example of Ch'eng Yü-pin, gave the Chin State a drum made of iron for casting the criminal tripod and recording Fan Hsüan-tzu's criminal code. Confucius said, 'Chin is about to go into extinction because it has lost its yardstick. Because the Chin State used the legal yardstick (Book of Rites) of T'ang Shu-chih to regulate its people, and the ministers and high officials abided by it, the people were able to respect the noble, and the noble were able to defend their cause. No mistake was made either by the noble or the humble because of the yardstick....Now the yardstick has been abandoned and the criminal tripod has been cast. With the people named on the tripod, why should they respect the noble and what cause have the noble to defend? How could a state have no order of precedence between the noble and the humble? Furthermore, Hsüan-tzu's criminal code...has disturbed the system of the Chin State. How could it be taken as law?" (29th Year of Duke Chao)

Two points should be pointed out here:

First Fan Hsüan-tzu's criminal code was of course progressive. But Confucius emphasized the need to defend the "legal yardstick of T'ang Shu-chih" or the "nine types of penalty" of the Western Chou Dynasty. He opposed Fan Hsüan-tzu's criminal code and denounced it as having "disturbed the system of the Chin State." This showed that Confucius was for upholding the criminal laws of the slave-owning society and the prerogatives of the slave owners in persecuting even more ruthlessly the laboring people, and that he opposed the new laws of some progressive significance and the granting of certain rights to the landlords and peasants in criminal laws. This was not only conservative and backward, but also reactionary.

Second, the criminal code was in the hands of the slave-owning aristocrats. It was made public to the aristocracy but kept secret from the people. The aristocrats could alter its provisions at random by adding or deleting some articles for hoodwinking and persecuting the scholars and the people. When the criminal code was cast on a tripod, it was made public to the whole country, and the aristocrats could not add articles to or delete articles from it at random. This was favorable to the scholars and the people, and especially to the newly emerging landlords. Therefore, the casting of the criminal tripod was a progressive political measure.

However, Confucius vigorously voiced his opposition. His reason was that when the criminal code was kept secret in the hands of the aristocrats, the latter were at liberty to make their rights flexible, and because of this, the people were able to respect the noble and the noble could preserve their private property. Once the criminal code was made public to the scholars and the people, the aristocrats were not at liberty to make their rights flexible, and because of this, the people no longer respected the noble and the noble could

not preserve their private property. Confucius defended the special rights of the aristocrats to keep the criminal code secret so that they were free to make flexible use of it. He really stood on the side of the slave-owning aristocrats and spoke for them. This was not only conservative and backward, but also reactionary.

As recorded in the Confucian Analects, Confucius said, "If the people be led by laws, and uniformity sought to be given them by punishments, they will try to avoid the punishment, but have no sense of shame." ("Wei Cheng") It was also recorded, "Chi K'ang, distressed about the number of thieves in the state, inquired of Confucius how to do away with them. Confucius said, 'If you, sir, were not covetous, although you should reward them to do it, they would not steal.'" ("Yen Yüan") It was also recorded, "Chi K'ang asked Confucius about government, saying, 'What do you say to killing the unprincipled for the good of the principled?' Confucius replied, 'Sir, in carrying on your government, why should you use killing at all? Let your evinced desires be for what is good, and the people will be good.'" (Ibid.) Was Confucius really opposed to the use of ruthless means by the rulers to suppress the people who broke the laws and became "thieves"? No. His opposition to the casting of the criminal tripod in the Chin State offered a conclusive evidence.

Another conclusive evidence was recorded in Tso Chuan: "Tzu Ch'an of Cheng was sick and he told his son Ta Shu, 'After my death you certainly will be required to administer the government. Only the virtuous can be lenient to the people. The next thing is to be fierce...' He died of illness several months afterward, and when Ta Shu administered the government, he could not bear to be fierce and tended to be lenient. The Cheng State was infested with robbers who preyed on people in the marsh land, much to the regrets of Ta Shu....He sent troops to the marsh land to attack the robbers and killed all of them. For a while there was no robbery. Confucius said, 'Excellent! When the government is lenient, the people tend to be slack, and slackness must be rectified with fierceness. When the government is fierce and the people are crippled, the crippled people must be nursed with lenient government. To modify leniency with fierceness and fierceness with leniency insures harmony in government.'" (20th Year of Duke Chao) Although Confucius favored the practice of leniency and fierceness at the same time, was it rather evident that he praised the ruler of the Cheng State for massacring the people who had turned "robbers"?

Conclusion

Confucius mainly defended the four systems of slavery of Western Chou as described above--the system of conferment of titles, the caste system, the hereditary system and the penalty system (that is, criminal laws). During the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals, these systems had gradually disintegrated. But for the sake of upholding the prerogatives of the slave-owners, Confucius ran around calling for the restoration of the old order and voicing his opposition to political reforms, in a vain attempt to make the system of slavery last forever. This Confucius, who was opposed to historical development and the people, could be described as the loyal minister of the slave-owners and the bodyguard of King Wen, King Wu and the Duke of Chou. After the period of the Warring States was ushered in, these broken walls and fences of the system of slavery were still preserved in different states at different periods to varying extents. The political reforms carried out by Shang Yang in the Ch'in State basically removed such remnants, but these remnants were not thoroughly exterminated until after Ch'in Shih Huang unified China of the time and established the system of prefectures and counties based on the centralization of authority and absolute monarchy.

The various feudal dynasties after Han carried out a policy of domination that was "internally Legalist but with an outward Confucian appearance." Their political institutions adopted the doctrines of Shang Yang and other Legalists and followed the magnificent standards of Ch'in Shih Huang. They discarded the

political theories of Confucius that upheld the system of slavery, and merely made use of his ethical and educational theories as tools for benumbing the people and consolidating their rule. Although the rulers adopted both the Confucian and Legalist doctrines, they made every effort to disparage the Legalist school and honor only Confucian teachings. They eulogized Confucius and vilified Shang Yang and Ch'in Shih Huang. Furthermore, they adored Confucius in the extreme and thought of all ways and means to instill the poison of Confucian thought into people. They took almost the same course for over two thousand years. The corrosion of the poison of Confucian thought was wide and deep, and up to today, it has still not been thoroughly eliminated.

Political swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao also drew on the will-o'-the-wisp of Confucius and the Confucian school to offer resistance to the radiance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung's thought. They propagated the "ways of Confucius and Mencius" and eulogized "benevolence, righteousness, loyalty and forgiveness," thus shooting an arrow from the dark at the proletarian dictatorship, beating the drums for capitalist restoration and singing in chorus as the willing echoers of social-imperialism. Their ambition has become a nightmare and their conspiracy has burst like a bubble, but this struggle in the ideological sphere is far from drawing to its end. Therefore, we must thoroughly bare and sternly criticize the class essence of this political line of Confucius for defending the system of slavery as well as all kinds of doctrines subordinated to this line, so as to make this idol of the "sage," who has been lauded by the feudal rulers to the skies, fall onto the garbage heap of the history of slave-owning society before we can say, "What a proper place for him! What a proper place for him!"

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The Spirit of "On Feudalism" in Honoring Legalism and Opposing Confucianism

by

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Pushing the Dispute between Conferment of Titles on Feudal Princes to Feudal States and the Division of the Country into Prefectures and Counties to a New Climax

In the Chinese history of feudal society, whether the system of prefectures and counties that conformed to the demand for centralization of authority or the system of conferment of titles that was favorable to the partitioning of the country into feudal states should be enforced had all along been a question of long-drawn out controversy. This controversy was linked with the struggle between Confucianism and Legalism and with the appraisal of Ch'in Shih Huang. However, from the Western Han and Eastern Han dynasties up to the time of Liu Tsung-yüan, the controversialists of all ages had never broken away from the conventions of the traditional thought of the Confucian school. It was not until the latter part of the T'ang Dynasty one thousand years afterward when Liu Tsung-yüan who was strong in the spirit of honoring Legalism and opposing Confucianism wrote "On Feudalism"* which for the first time broke away from the fetters of the traditional thought of the Confucian school and pushed the controversy to a new climax.

The system of conferment of titles was a form of political organization formed on the basis of the economy and clannish blood relationship of the system of slavery in China. During the period of the Warring States, in the wake of the collapse of the system of slavery and the establishment of the feudal system, the system of conferment of titles left over from the slave-owning society and the phase of partitioning linked with it were gradually overcome by feudal centralization of authority. In this great upheaval in history, the form of political organization that met the need of feudal centralization of authority--the system of prefectures and counties--gradually replaced the system of conferment of titles. Because of this, in the ideological sphere, the controversy between conferment of titles and division into prefectures and counties became an important part of the struggle between Confucianism and Legalism during the period of the Warring States up to the Ch'in Dynasty. The Confucian school which attempted to restore the system of slavery favored the conferment of titles, while the Legalist school that defended the newly emerging feudal system energetically called for the division of the country into prefectures and counties. After Ch'in Shih Huang unified the six states, he pushed through the system of prefectures and counties in the whole country and struck blows at the reactionary Confucian scholars who advocated conferment of titles in a vain attempt to restore the system of slavery. This struggle ended in the failure of the Confucian school and the victory of the Legalist school.

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* The term "feudalism" in the ancient books of China refers not to what we describe as the system of feudal society today, but to "the conferment of titles on feudal princes to feudal states." After the Shang Dynasty was destroyed by the Chou Dynasty, the area conquered was divided into a number of regions for the children, brothers, relatives, vassals who distinguished themselves by meritorious service, and allies of the Chou rulers to set up feudal states. These feudal states were actually hereditary kingdoms highly independent. So-called "feudalism" is described, as a rule, as "the system of conferment of titles" in this article.

The subsequent ages mostly adhered to the political institutions of the Ch'in Dynasty. The various systems founded by Ch'in Shih Huang to comply with the demand for centralization of power, including the system of prefectures and counties, were finally affirmed. According to common sense, the controversy over the superiority and inferiority of the system of conferment of titles and the system of prefectures and counties should have ended. But this was not so, and under new historical conditions, the controversy still continued among the various factions of the landlord class. This was because some conservative people of the landlord class vainly attempted to use the method of turning back the wheel of history to uphold feudal rule, and they blamed the non-compliance with the ancient system and the adoption of the system of prefectures and counties for the rapid downfall of Ch'in. Another reason was that the representatives of the partitioning forces in feudal society wanted to find from history bases and favorable forms of organization for their partitioning activities. These people took the reactionary political stand of the conservatives for the restoration of the old order, and they produced this historical corpse of the system of conferment of titles in the period of the system of slavery as something which the feudal political system should pattern after. They also cursed Ch'in Shih Huang and the Legalists for abolishing the system of conferment of titles and implementing the system of prefectures and counties.

The wheel of history cannot, after all, be turned back. The long years of practice of the system of prefectures and counties demonstrated again and again that it conformed to the need of the feudal state based on centralization of authority. Although the conservative and the partitioning forces of the landlord class also practiced some feudal forms of conferment of titles under the banner of restoring the old order, they never could completely abolish the system of prefectures and counties, much less restore the system of conferment of titles based on the system of slavery. In the ideological sphere, however, prior to Liu Tsung-yüan, the view advocating the system of conferment of titles in the period of the system of slavery had the upper hand.

This was due to the existence of a strong conservative and reactionary trend of thought that honored Confucianism and opposed Legalism. Because the advocates of the system of conferment of titles flaunted the banner of honoring Confucianism and opposing Legalism and declared that the system was formulated and carried out by what the Confucian scholars called the ancient "sages"--Yao, Shun, T'ang, Wen and Wu--and was eulogized and defended by the supreme masters of the Confucian school Confucius and Mencius, they appeared to be strong and powerful and compelling in influence. Likewise, due to the influence of the trend of thought to honor Confucianism and oppose Legalism, the supporters of the system of prefectures and counties appeared to be weak and feeble in the controversy.

In order to affirm the system of prefectures and counties, we naturally should affirm Ch'in Shih Huang and criticize the Confucian school. Prior to Liu Tsung-yüan, however, none of those who affirmed the system of prefectures and counties dared to take this course of action. This precisely showed how strong this traditional conservative force of the Confucian school was.

"On Feudalism" was the first article that dared to break away from the fetters of the traditional thought of the Confucian school, sharply criticize and repudiate the principal arguments of the advocates of the system of conferment of titles, highly evaluate Ch'in Shih Huang and the Legalists and stand them against the "sages" of the Confucian school, and go further in indistinctly and deviously criticizing the Confucian school and its "sages."

Criticizing and Repudiating the Traditional Thought of the Confucian School and Affirming Ch'in Shih Huang and the Legalists

The first argument of the advocates of the system of conferment of titles was that since the system of conferment of titles was formulated by and based on the will of what the Confucian school called the ancient "sages," it should of course be handed down from generation to generation and could not be altered. By reforming it, Ch'in Shih Huang simply had "wiped out the system of the ancient kings,"* "forgotten the great virtue of government"** and committed a great crime.

Liu Tsung-yüan put forward the concept of "situation" and refuted this kind of conservative "back to the ancients" fallacy from the angle of historical evolution. He said that the system of conferment of titles on feudal princes to feudal states was not formulated by any "sage" according to his own will but was created by the objective situation. He further expounded how the system of conferment of titles was gradually formed in the process of historical evolution, and consequently, "even the ancient sage-kings Yao, Shun, T'ang, Wen and Wu could not do away with it, not because they did not want to do so but because the situation did not permit them to do so." The "sages" could only accept this objective reality shaped by history, and they could not alter it even though they desired to do so. Extended in meaning, the abdication of the throne by the system of conferment of titles to the system of prefectures and counties was likewise also dictated by the "situation." The trend of historical development could not be stemmed. Hadn't such Confucian "sages and virtuous men" as Confucius and Mencius made every effort to uphold and restore the system of conferment of titles of the system of slavery? But they failed in the end. The firm establishment of the system of prefectures and counties was also "not the idea of the sages" but it "became inalterable." Because of this, Ch'in Shih Huang and the Legalists who carried out political reforms in conformity with the trend of historical development were progressive. This was the basic foundation of Liu Tsung-yüan in affirming Ch'in Shih Huang and the Legalists.

To be sure, Liu Tsung-yüan could not give a real materialist interpretation to history. What he called "situation" was only an abstract concept. His interpretation of the origin of the system of conferment of titles (actually the origin of class and state" was also incorrect. However, he affirmed historical evolution and was hence opposed to the restoration of the old order and supported political reforms. This was antagonistic to the conservative "back to the ancients" viewpoint of the Confucian school that advocated "the invariability of nature and the way." Furthermore, he emphasized that "the conferment of titles was not the idea of the sages," and this offered criticism to the formulation of institutions, rites and music by the "sages" as advertised by the Confucian school. These ideas of Liu Tsung-yüan had precisely inherited the progressive traditions of the Legalists.

Liu Tsung-yüan also shielded to some extent the "sages" and desired to absolve them from their relations with the system of conferment of titles which he negated. He declared that "the conferment of titles was not the idea of the sages" and that "they also wanted to do away with it" as though the "sages" also disapproved of the conferment of titles. This was where he lacked

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* Fu Hsüan's "Memorandum on Censorship" in Ch'uan Chin Wen (全晋文), Vol. 46.

** Lu Chi's "On Five Grades of Feudal Princes" in Wen Hsüan (文选), Vol. 54.

thoroughness. But such shielding actually played the role of criticizing the "sages." As you are aware, since T'ang of Shang and Wu of Chou had no desire to practice but were compelled to practice the conferment of titles, and the opposition of Confucius and Mencius to the system of prefectures and counties also ended in failure, would not all those "sages" who had been glorified to so great an extent by the Confucian scholars become the poor creatures that desired but were unable to oppose the trend of historical development? Liu Tsung-yüan had probably not gone so far with his thinking. But in his eyes, Ch'in Shih Huang who took advantage of the "situation" to carry out political reforms was one grade above these "sages."

The second argument of the advocates of the system of conferment of titles was that by practicing the conferment of titles, the Chou Dynasty was able to "show faith in its relatives"* and "make all states support each other,"** and as a result, it lasted eight hundred years. On the other hand, the Ch'in Dynasty which introduced prefectures and counties "had not the support of the eldest son internally and was not externally shielded by feudal princes,"* and "the origin of its downfall was actually due to isolation."** As a result, it fell under the Second Emperor. As they saw it, the rapid downfall of Ch'in was principally due to the introduction of prefectures and counties, and only by restoring the system of conferment of titles of the system of slavery could feudal rule be insured of prolonged peace and order.

Liu Tsung-yüan said in rebuttal that by introducing prefectures and counties, Ch'in was able to "bring all corners of the country under control" and that was "where the gain lay." This meant that the introduction of the system of prefectures and counties to meet the demand for centralization of power was a great contribution. Ch'in's "fault lay in its government and not in its institutions." "The opposition of the people but not system of prefectures and counties was to be blamed" for the rapid downfall of Ch'in. In other words, it was not the introduction of prefectures and counties but the ruthless exploitation and oppression of the peasants that led to the rapid aggravation of class contradictions. The advocates of the system of conferment of titles had mixed up two different problems.

Liu Tsung-yüan was of the opinion that the downfall of Chou was caused by its "faulty institutions." This meant to say that the system of conferment of titles which was no longer in conformity with the trend of historical development led to the situation of disruption and chaos because "the feudal princes were too powerful to control." This was the cause of the fall of Chou and the rise of Ch'in.

As we look at things today, we know that there were great changes in social institutions during the period extending from the Spring and Autumn Annals through the Warring States to the unification of the country under the Ch'in Dynasty. The faults of the Chou institutions and the merits of the Ch'in institutions should be comprehended from the superiority of the advanced feudal system over the moribund system of slavery, that is, from the changes in "political system." Liu Tsung-yüan was of course not aware of this point. He merely attributed the faults and merits of the Chou and Ch'in institutions to the superiority of the system of prefectures and counties over the system of conferment of titles, and his comprehension was also based only on changes in the "form of government." It could not be said that he had grasped the crux of the question.

However, the reform of the system of conferment of titles left over from the period of the system of slavery into the feudal system of prefectures and counties was a big step forward. In feudal society, under normal conditions, unification and centralization of power were also more favorable to social

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* Ts'ao Chiung's "On Six Dynasties" in Wen Hsüan, Vol. 52.

** Lu Chi's "On Five Grades of Feudal Princes" in Wen Hsüan, Vol. 54.

development than disruption and partitioning. Stalin pointed out, "If the state of feudal decentralization and feudal confusion could not be got rid of, no country in the world could hope to uphold its own independence and really develop its economy and culture. Only a unified and centralized state can look forward toward the possibility of truly developing its economy and culture and establishing its own independence."* It was correct for Liu Tsung-yüan to affirm, from the angle that the system of prefectures and counties was favorable to feudal unification and centralization of power, the merits of the Ch'in institutions and the historical status of Ch'in Shih Huang and the Legalists.

Liu Tsung-yüan also had in mind the serious question of the exercise of sovereign powers by vassals in the later period of T'ang when he discussed the faults and merits of the institutions of Chou and Ch'in. As he saw it, the T'ang Dynasty inherited the Ch'in institutions and "adopted the proper course of setting up administrative districts and appointing governors." As regards the emergence of the situation marked by the exercise of sovereign powers by vassals, "the fault lay not in the administrative districts but in the armed forces," in other words, in the independent maintenance of troops by warlords but not in the drawback of the system of prefectures and counties itself. Consequently, "the installation of chou and hsien could not be done away with." To eliminate the exercise of sovereign powers by vassals, the question did not lie in changing the system of prefectures and counties. Nor was it possible to follow the practice adopted during the rebellion of An Lu-shan and Shih Szu-ming by Prime Minister Fang Kuan of the T'ang Dynasty who attempted to use the method of conferring titles on feudal princes or the method of setting one form of disruption and partitioning against another form of disruption and partitioning to solve the problem. What should be done was "to exercise proper control over the armed forces and select governors with great care" so as to strengthen the centralization of power and the system of prefectures and counties.

The exercise of sovereign powers by vassals had its deep social causes. Liu Tsung-yüan's analysis was superficial and his solution was also devoid of content. However, he refuted the fallacies that attacked the system

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* "Message of Greetings" to the 800th Anniversary of the Founding of the Moscow City.

of prefectures and counties and advocated the restoration of the system of conferment of titles, and also expressed his desire to strengthen unification and centralization of power and eliminate disruption and partitioning. This also had its positive significance.

The third argument of the advocates of the system of conferment of titles was that the "sages" practiced conferment of titles so as to share control and defense with the feudal princes* or "to share the empire with all." Ch'in introduced the system of prefectures and counties "out of the desire to own the whole empire without distributing any land to anyone else."** "To aim high or low as one wishes and to place the whole empire under one person" "is definitely not in conformity with the principle of the empire for all."*** This was entirely based on selfishness and was not in accord with the ethical standards of the Confucian school and its "sages."

Liu Tsung-yüan said in rebuttal that this was incorrect. The system of conferment of titles was not based on the will of the "sages." The "sages" had to accept it because they had no choice. How could it be said that it was in accord with the ethical standards of the sages just because it had been accepted by the latter? Furthermore, the system of conferment of titles was extremely selfish because it "kept power private to oneself and for the defense of his descendants." Actually it was designed "to turn the empire into a household." The "sages" who practiced such a system were pursuing selfish ends! Granted that they had no choice, they also tended to profit themselves. Therefore, the system of conferment of titles was "not a major feat for the public." The false appearance of the "sages"--whom the Confucian school played up as all for the public without selfish considerations and perfect without any blemish--was thus bared by Liu Tsung-yüan.

On the contrary, as Liu Tsung-yüan saw it, Ch'in Shih Huang who introduced the system of prefectures and counties had performed "a major feat for the public" since "it was Ch'in that initiated the empire for the public." This was because the system of prefectures and counties got rid of the shackles of the hereditary system of conferment of titles. It enabled the central government to exercise direct control over the selection and dismissal of officials. This was beneficial to feudal rule based on unification and centralization of power and was in correspondence with the objective requirements of historical development. Furthermore, the system of prefectures and counties which vested centralized power in the central government benefited the carrying out of progressive political reforms. In the appointment of officials, it was possible to "dismiss those at fault and reward the capable," and this could enable "the virtuous ones to occupy high positions and the unworthy to be relegated to lower ones," thus "pacifying" the empire. It was unlike the system of conferment of titles under which every level was hereditary and restrictions were encountered in every place. The virtuous men could not have their way and the unworthy also could not be relegated. "The sages and virtuous men born at that time had no way to establish themselves in the empire."

Liu Tsung-yüan was politically a reformer. In his early years, he participated in the reform activities headed by Wang P'ei and Wang Shu-wen under the reign of T'ang Shun Tsung (805 A.D.), but such activities quickly failed under the attack of the eunuch group. "On Feudalism" was his work after his demotion following the failure of the reform activities. This point was reiterated again and again in the article to give vent to his feelings.

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* Ts'ao Chiung's "On Six Dynasties" in Wen Ruan, Vol. 52.

** Chia I's "Shu Yüan P'ien" in Hsin Shu (新书), Vol. 3.

*** Chu Ching-tse's "On Five Grades" in Ch'uan T'ang Wen (全唐文), Vol. 171.

Liu Tsung-yüan did not negate the selfish desire of Ch'in Shih Huang, but he opposed the use of it by the advocates of the system of conferment of titles to abuse and discredit Ch'in Shih Huang. He was aware of the contradiction between the so-called "empire for the public" and Ch'in Shih Huang's selfish desire. He said, "The reform of the system of Ch'in Shih Huang (referring to the abolition of conferment of titles and the introduction of prefectures and counties) was a major feat for the public but with selfish ends--the selfish desire to uphold his prestige and the selfish desire to keep all ministers under him. However, it was he who initiated the empire for the public." This was a significant analysis. Liu Tsung-yüan was aware of the selfish ends of Ch'in Shih Huang, but instead of simply negating them, he pointed out their dual nature. According to Liu Tsung-yüan's analysis, it was true that Ch'in Shih Huang abolished the system of conferment of titles and introduced the system of prefectures and counties out of his avarice for power or "selfish ends," but the thing of greater importance was to meet the trend of historical development--"as a system it was a major feat for the public." The carrying out of such reforms beneficial to historical development by Ch'in Shih Huang was linked up with his selfish desire as the representative of the landlord class. It should be said that Liu Tsung-yüan had surmised the dialectics of history to some extent.

Liu Tsung-yüan was after all nothing more than a progressive thinker of the landlord class and he could only discuss the views of the landlord class in regard to public and private interests. His so-called "the empire for the public" referred at most to making the feudal regime public to the landlord class as a whole. He could see only the selfish desire of an individual but was fundamentally unable to discern the class nature of Ch'in Shih Huang's selfish ends. Much less could he discern that the greatest selfish desire of the exploiting class was to ruthlessly exploit and oppress the laboring people. However, he discarded the traditional ethical principles, and took whether a political reform was beneficial to historical development as a criterion for judging whether it was for public or selfish ends. Consequently, he negated the "sages" whom the Confucian scholars played up as models for the public, and arfirmed Ch'in Shih Huang who was cursed by the Confucian scholars for his greed, ruthlessness, deceit and hypocrisy as a model for the public. This point of argument had approached the limit which a progressive thinker of the landlord class could attain.

Later some people commented that this statement by Liu Tsung-yüan was "so sensational that it surprised the petty Confucian scholars," thus regarding Liu Tsung-yüan as a "great Confucian scholar" ranking above the "petty Confucian scholars." This kind of appraisal had not jumped clear of the traditional conventions of the Confucian school and was not a correct affirmation for Liu Tsung-yüan. How could the "great Confucian scholars," who proclaimed that the country should go back to the age of King Wen, King Wu and the Duke of Chou, have put forward so sharp and bold a progressive view! Only one who stood opposed to the tradition of the Confucian school, had inherited the progressive tradition of the Legalist school in calling for political reforms and had the insight and drive to go against the tide could have done this.

"On Feudalism" expressed skepticism for and criticized and repudiated the traditional teachings of the Confucian school. This ran through the whole of Liu Tsung-yüan's system of political and academic thought. For example:

In the classic books worshipped by the Confucian school, such as the Book of Odes and the Book of History, there were some myths and legends about the origin of ancient clans or superstitious words about talismen and omens. The Confucian school regarded them as facts and made use of them to publicize the thought of divine right and the rule of emperors and kings by heavenly mandate. However, Liu Tsung-yüan inherited the simple and plain materialist viewpoint of the Legalists who were opposed to the theory of heavenly mandate.

He denounced these myths and legends as disgraceful things fabricated by "people of later ages who were so wanton and stupid as to be fond of telling weird and strange tales." He denounced Tung Chung-shu and other "great virtuous men" of the Confucian school who publicized things of this kind saying, "Their utterances were like those by unprincipled wizards and officials in charge of astrology for hoodwinking and confusing posterity."*

Liu Tsung-yüan often expressed skepticism for the words and deeds of the legendary "sages" worshipped by the Confucian school. He even declared outright, "The ways of the sages are of no benefit to the world!"**

To be sure, Liu Tsung-yüan could not completely free himself from the shackles of the traditional thought of the Confucian school. In "On Feudalism" there were a number of hackneyed tunes of the Confucian school. He also adopted only indistinct and devious means to criticize and repudiate the traditional thought of the Confucian school and not all his criticism was correct. This was a limitation common to all progressive thinkers of his age. But under the Confucian mantle, there glittered everywhere the radiance of his opposition to the traditional thought of the Confucian school. Like those Christian heretics who opposed Christianity under the Christian mantle in medieval Europe, he donned the Confucian mantle to oppose the traditional thought of the Confucian school. This probably can be considered as a salient feature of the progressive thinkers who had inherited the Legalist tradition in feudal China.

Some Useful Points of Revelation

"On Feudalism" was written more than 1,000 years ago. Read today, it still can provide useful revelations to people.

First, the struggle between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces, between the reformist and conservative forces, was often expressed as the struggle between those honoring Legalism and opposing Confucianism and those honoring Confucianism and opposing Legalism in the ideological sphere. This was so in the Ch'in Dynasty and during the T'ang Dynasty in which Liu Tsung-yüan lived, and was also so in modern history. Today, there is still the thought of honoring Confucianism and opposing Legalism. We must thoroughly criticize and repudiate Confucian thought, appraise the progressive role of Ch'in Shih Huang and the Legalists in a way corresponding to historical materialism, and criticize and repudiate all kinds of fallacies spread by Lin Piao and other reactionaries to honor Confucianism and oppose Legalism. Through reading "On Feudalism," we can further comprehend why the combination of criticism of Confucianism with criticism of Lin Piao forms an important part of the campaign to criticize and repudiate Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

Second, the time of Liu Tsung-yüan was already 1,000 years away from the Ch'in Dynasty, and the system of prefectures and counties was "surely something that could not be changed." But in the ideological sphere, the advocates for the system of conferment of titles still made a lot of noise. "On Feudalism" dealt a heavy blow at them and turned the tables in the situation of the controversy. That was why Su Shih of the Northern Sung Dynasty said,

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* "Chen Fu" in Collected Works of Liu Ho-tung, Vol. I.

** "Letter to Mayor Yang P'ing" in Collected Works of Liu Ho-tung, Vol. 30.

"The emergence of Tsung-yüan's view made the views of diverse schools of thought obsolete. Even the resurrection of the sages could not have changed this."* But Su Shih's estimation was wrong because this controversy lasted as long as the feudal society. It can be seen from this the tenacity of the conservative reactionary forces and Confucian tradition. We also can comprehend further from this that this struggle, which is presently being launched in the ideological sphere, must ge carried out again and again for a long time to a great depth before the ultimate victory can be won.

Third, only those who stand on the revolutionary or progressive side and possess the spirit of daring to go against the tide can break away from the shackles of traditional concepts. Here lies the root cause which made the success of "On Feudalism" much greater than the views of the supporters of the system of prefectures and counties in past ages. We still can draw lessons from this article on ways to launch in depth the struggle in the ideological sphere today. However, only the proletariat can make "the most radical rupture with traditional property relations," and in its own process of development, "the most radical rupture with traditional ideas."** This is something which the progressive thinkers of the landlord class basically could not accomplish. Here also lies the root cause of the limitations of "On Feudalism." Speaking in this sense, we likewise can draw lessons from "On Feudalism" concerning how to carry through to the end the struggle in the ideological sphere.

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* "On Feudalism" in Collected Works of Tung-po Part II, Vol. 8.

** Marx and Engels' Manifesto of the Communist Party, People's Publishing House, 1964 edition, p. 44.

Confucius' Doctrine of the Mean Is a Philosophy Opposed to Social Reforms

by

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The doctrine of the Mean is an important part of the thinking of Confucius and the Confucian school. Bourgeois careerist, conspirator, counter-revolutionary double-dealer, renegade and traitor Lin Piao and his sworn confederate Ch'en Po-ta, like the reactionary exploiting classes in history, frenziedly advocated the doctrine of the Mean. They declared: The doctrine of the Mean is a "rational" and "dialectical way of thinking" and "is one of the great virtues of our nation." They also said: Confucius' doctrine of the Mean "exercises a very great influence" "on the subsequent development of dialectical philosophy in China," and "this is a very great merit of Confucius in the Chinese history of philosophy." And so on and so forth.

What kind of philosophy is after all the doctrine of the Mean? What role has it played after all in Chinese history? What class does it serve after all? This is a major question of right and wrong that must be clarified through discussion.

The doctrine of the Mean was first put forward by Confucius. He said that "the Mean" is a kind of supreme "virtue" ("Yung Yeh" in Confucian Analects). He also said that "going beyond the due Mean" is equal to "not coming up to it" ("Hsien Chin" in Confucian Analects), and that it is necessary to hold fast to this "due Mean" ("Yao Yüeh" in Confucian Analects). Subsequently, Tzu Szu--the grandson of Confucius--and his disciple Mencius further gave play to Confucius' doctrine of the Mean.

The doctrine of the Mean is closely linked together with the whole ideological system of Confucius. One focal thought of Confucius is to restore the "rites of Chou" and to forbid ~~not~~ the least violation of or deviation from them. This is what Confucius called the supreme "virtue"--the demand of the doctrine of the Mean, and in essence the demand for restoring the whole of the caste system of the system of slavery of the Western Chou Dynasty.

Speaking in terms of philosophy, the so-called doctrine of the Mean seeks forever to uphold the unity of contradictions and the stability of the old quality. According to the doctrine of the Mean, if things go beyond the given limits of the old quality ("going beyond the due Mean") or do not come up to the given limits ("not coming up to the due Mean"), they should be unconditionally opposed. Only the "Mean" is the best because holding fast to this "Mean" would not go to the extreme and the stability of the old quality would not be undermined.

Actually, a given quality has its given limits, and within such given limits, the given quality can preserve its stability. However, the doctrine of the Mean treats such limits of a given quality as sacred and the stability of the old quality in the absolute. In this connection, it describes the old things as an insurmountable force that is sacred and eternal--"nature is constant and so is the path." It is quite obvious that this is out and out metaphysics.

As a historical concept, the doctrine of the Mean is for turning the old state of social economy and its superstructure into something absolute and sacred, for negating revolutionary reforms in society and the forward movement of society, and for advocating conservatism, the restoration of the old order and retrogression. Consequently, the doctrine of the Mean is the simon-pure philosophy of the conservative and reactionary elements.

Marxist dialectics holds that the unity of opposites is relative while the struggle of opposites is absolute. The stability of the quality of things is relative, while the leap of things from the old quality to the new quality is absolute. The static state of things is relative, while the motion of things is absolute. Dialectics acknowledges the stability of the quality of things, but opposes treating such stability as absolute. Dialectics holds that when the development of the struggle of opposites pierces the given limits, it necessarily undermines the stability of the old quality and necessarily leads to the disruption of the old unified whole, the transformation of contradictions, the death of old things and the emergence of new things. As Engels said, "In the course of development, all the real things of the past would become unreal and would lose their necessity, their right of existence and their own rational character; a kind of real things that are new and rich in vitality would rise to take the place of the real things on the decline." ("Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of German Classical Philosophy") Therefore, in the view of Marxists, the development of history is always marked by the unremitting triumph of new things (new state of social economy, new class forces, new figures and new ideas) over decadent things (the old state of social economy and its superstructure). New things are invincible, and "the supersession of the old by the new is a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe." ("On Contradiction")

It can be seen from this that the doctrine of the Mean and revolutionary dialectics are opposed to each other. Is it not extremely preposterous to say that the doctrine of the Mean is the idea of unity of opposites or dialectics?

Chairman Mao points out, "It is only the reactionary ruling classes of the past and present and the metaphysicians in their service who regard opposites not as living, conditional, mobile and transforming themselves into one another, but as dead and rigid, and they propagate this fallacy everywhere to delude the masses of the people, thus seeking to perpetuate their rule." ("On Contradiction") In Chinese history, beginning from Confucius, all representative figures of the reactionary exploiting classes advocated the doctrine of the Mean. They advocated the doctrine of the Mean for the purposes of upholding their reactionary rule, preserving the old system, old order and old culture, and opposing reform, revolution and the forward movement of society.

Confucius lived in the period of transition from the slave-owning society to the feudal society. This was a period of great upheaval in society, and the system of slavery was crumbling. Confucius stubbornly took the reactionary stand of the slave-owning aristocrats on the decline. He put forward the doctrine of the Mean for upholding the dying system of slavery and opposing social reform. Confucius said, "Perfect is the virtue which is according to the Mean! Rare have they long been among the people, who could practice it!" ("The Doctrine of the Mean") Living in this era of great upheaval in society and faced with the collapse of the system of slavery, they could do nothing else but to lament. In their eyes and minds, such society marked by "the collapse of propriety and corruption of music" was simply terrible. The present was not as good as the past and each generation was not as good as the previous one. With the slaves incessantly rising in insurrection and the influence of the newly emerging landlord class developing day by day, the norms of the system of slavery--so-called "propriety"--were incessantly undermined, and all this was in contravention of what they called the doctrine of the Mean.

For example, the three families of Chi Sun, Meng Sun and Shu Sun in the Lu State were the representatives of the newly emerging feudal landlord class. With their private land increasing and their influence expanding day after day, they encroached upon the interests of the sovereign of the Lu State and of the rule of slave-owning aristocracy. Confucius was of the opinion that they had over-reached themselves. Formerly, only the sovereign could build a capital city, but these three families actually also built their capital cities. How

could this be tolerated? Therefore, Confucius instigated people to think of ways to demolish the cities of Chi Sun and Shu Sun. Formerly, only the Son of Heaven could use eight rows of pantomimes (comprising sixty-four dancers), but the head of the Chi family actually also used eight rows of pantomimes in his ancestral temple. Confucius really was unable to suppress his indignation and he declared, "If this be endured, what may not be endured?" ("Pa I" in Confucian Analects) Therefore Confucius called for "rectification of names" and emphasized the need to strictly abide by the norms of the system of slavery--"the prince must be prince, the minister must be minister, the father must be father and the son must be son"--which one must not "go beyond" and must "come up to." What he called "going beyond" and "not coming up to" all took the Book of Rites as criteria. Confucius had more than once emphasized the need "to stand on propriety" which one must not "go beyond" and must "come up to." Violation of "propriety" was not in conformity with the doctrine of the Mean and could not be permitted. Consequently, Confucius' doctrine of the Mean was in essence to uphold the caste system of the old system of slavery which was looked upon as sacred and eternal.

Again, when Fan Hsüan-tzu of the Chin State formulated a criminal code and cast it on a tripod at the time, Confucius thought that because of this, the slaves would no longer respect the noble and the rule of the slave-owning aristocrats would come to an end. He sighed and said, "Chin is about to go into extinction because it has lost its 'yardstick'." (29th Year of Duke Chao in Tso Chuan) What Confucius called the "yardstick" referred to the norms of the system of slave-owning aristocracy--"propriety." Without the "yardstick" the doctrine of the Mean would be undermined. Therefore, Confucius stood for "subduing one's self and returning to propriety" and said, "Look not at what is contrary to propriety; listen not to what is contrary to propriety; speak not what is contrary to propriety; make no movement which is contrary to propriety." ("Yen Yüan" in Confucian Analects) He wanted to strictly restrict the words and deeds of people by the shackles of the norms of the system of slave-owning aristocracy on the decline.

Tzu Szu also taught, "Don't rebel and don't deviate." "Don't do things wicked." "Abide by the ways of ancient kings." ("Hung Fan" in Book of History) He likewise wanted people to be content with their lot within the confines of the old system and the old order under the rule of slave-owning aristocracy, and to refrain from offending against their superiors or stirring up confusion, from undermining the old norms and the old order, and from rebelling against or deserting the "path" of the system of slave-owning aristocracy. Tzu Szu said, "The superior man embodies the course of the Mean; the mean man acts contrary to the course of the Mean." ("The Doctrine of the Mean") The "superior men" referred to the slave-owning aristocrats, and since what they did were in compliance with the Book of Rites governing the caste system of the system of slavery, they of course conformed to the doctrine of the Mean. The "mean men" referred those slaves rising in insurrection and the newly emerging feudal forces that "offend against their superiors and stir up confusion." Since these people violated the Book of Rites governing the caste system of the system of slavery, they had therefore violated the doctrine of the Mean. Tzu Szu denounced them as "men who are ignorant but fond of using their own judgment and men without ranks who are fond of assuming a directing power to themselves." ("The Doctrine of the Mean") Such "mean men" must be ruthlessly suppressed with brute force.

At the time, after the slaves of the Cheng State staged a major uprising, the slave-owners ruthlessly suppressed this uprising and slaughtered all the insurgent slaves. Confucius got very excited and he said in praise, "Wonderful! When the slaves are treated too leniently, they would rise in revolt. The insurgents must be harshly suppressed!" (20th Year of Duke Chao in Tso Chuan)

Hadn't Confucius killed Shao Cheng Mao? Shao Cheng Mao advocated political reforms and posed a great threat to the system of slave-owning aristocracy. Confucius said, "As he is the hero of the mean men, it couldn't do without killing him." ("Yu Tso" in The Works of Philosopher Hsün) The killing of Shao

Cheng Mao was for insuring the survival of the system of slavery, and this also met the demand of the doctrine of the Mean.

From the above facts, it can be seen that Confucius' doctrine of the Mean was really an ideological weapon used by the slave-owning aristocrats to uphold the old system and to oppose social reforms.

After Confucius and Mencius, the school of learning of Ch'eng and Chu devoted to the study of the classics with a rational approach in the Sung Dynasty also paid attention to publicizing the doctrine of the Mean. At the time, class struggle was very violent, and the peasants' uprisings sprang up one after another. Some people put forward slogans calling for "abolition of social ranks" and "equal distribution of wealth," thus rocking the rule of the feudal caste system. Meanwhile, there also emerged reformers such as Wang An-shih within the ruling class. Wang An-shih was of the view that society was developing and changing. He advocated political reforms and was opposed to the restoration of the old order. He said, "Natural disasters are not worthy of fear, the ways of our ancestors are not worthy of emulation, and what others say are not worthy of our attention." This was of some progressive significance at the time. Under such circumstances, the idealist scholars devoted to the study of the classics with a rational approach represented by Ch'eng I and Chu Hsi especially emphasized the doctrine of the Mean. They said, "Being without inclination to either side is called 'chung'; admitting of no change is called 'yung.' By 'chung' is denoted the correct course to be pursued by all under heaven; by 'yung' is denoted the fixed principle regulating all under heaven." What they called "without inclination to either side" meant that the feudal caste system absolutely could not be deviated from, and what they called "admitting of no change" meant that the feudal caste system absolutely could not be changed in the least. They used this doctrine of the Mean to make the feudal caste system sacred and to create public opinion for suppressing the peasants' uprisings. In light of the slogans for "abolition of social ranks" and "equal distribution of wealth," they declared, "The ranking order between the eminent and the humble is inviolable. How can we go against the law of nature!" They vainly attempted to make the masses rest content with their lot without going to the excess so as to uphold the order and norms of the feudal caste system. They also used this doctrine of the Mean to oppose Wang An-shih's political reforms. They denounced Wang An-shih's new laws as "permitting the humble to insult the eminent and the evil ways to hamper the correct ways." As they saw it, any minor change of the old system and the old order also would endanger the survival of the feudal caste system that could not be tolerated. It is quite obvious that in the Ch'eng and Chu's school of learning devoted to the study of the classics with a rational approach, the doctrine of the Mean was likewise a reactionary ideological weapon for opposing the revolution and reforms.

One point that must be pointed out here is that in the long feudal society, the feudal rulers of the past, besides making use of the doctrine of the Mean, also incessantly processed the doctrine of the Mean. The original doctrine of the Mean laid emphasis on making absolute the limits and confines of the old quality (in the case of Confucius, the norms of the caste system of the system of slavery--"propriety") so as to oppose a leap in quality, revolutionary reforms and the forward movement of society. Subsequently, emphasis was laid on bringing into play another aspect of the content linked with this through advocating the conciliation and compromise of contradictions and negating the struggle of contradictions. This was likewise for opposing a leap in quality, revolutionary reforms and the forward movement of society. Such processing began in the Han Dynasty.

For example, in annotating the Confucian Analects and "The Doctrine of the Mean," Cheng Hsüan of the Eastern Han Dynasty defined "the Mean" as "modification" or conciliation of opposites. He said, "The Mean is for denoting the role of modification." In annotating "The Doctrine of the Mean," Chu Hsi of the Sung Dynasty also emphasized that the Mean embodied the

meaning of conciliation and compromise of contradictions. He said that "the word 'chung' in 'chung yung' (the Mean) actually embodies the meaning of modification." He said that "without inclination to either side" meant "keeping watch over the two extremities and taking the middle course," and "forbearing adversities without complaining." And so on and so forth. Such processing was in the final analysis to meet the demand of the economic base of feudal society. This was because in the wake of the continued aggravation of the basic contradiction in feudal society--the contradiction between the landlords and the peasants, and especially after the great uprisings of the peasants at the end of the Ch'in Dynasty and at the end of the Western and Eastern dynasties, the feudal ruling classes felt that for the sake of consolidating their own rule and exploitation of the broad masses of peasants, besides continuing to emphasize the sacred and inviolable status of the feudal caste system, it was also necessary to advocate class conciliation to directly negate the class struggle put up by the oppressed people. This was why they had to process and give wide publicity to the doctrine of the Mean.

Chiang Kai-shek also paid special attention to the doctrine of the Mean. During the ten years of civil war, Chiang Kai-shek launched counter-revolutionary military campaigns for the encirclement and suppression of the people's revolutionary forces led by the Chinese Communist Party on the one hand and vociferously advocated the doctrine of the Mean on the other. He publicized that the doctrine of the Mean was "the most profound and practical philosophy of life," "the best moral philosophy and political philosophy" and "the constant axiom for all ages." Chiang Kai-shek vainly attempted to use this hackneyed sermon of the doctrine of the Mean to uphold the semi-feudal and semi-colonial social system as well as his comprador-bourgeois fascist dictatorship, to eradicate the revolutionary will of the masses of the people, to tie them up hand and foot and to curb them from rising to stage revolutionary insurrections. This was what he called "with each getting his position of his own choice without contradicting each other" for upholding the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in China. The military campaigns for encirclement and suppression and the publicity of the ways of Confucius and Mencius represented Chiang Kai-shek's double-game for the suppression of revolution.

Coming to the socialist period, the doctrine of the Mean was still used by the landlord and bourgeois classes as an ideological weapon for opposing the revolution. During this historical period, should we advocate reformation or conservatism, practice revolution or restoration, forge ahead or pull back? The struggle was most acute. Reflected in philosophy, the struggle between dialectics and metaphysics was most prominent. Chairman Mao applied the Marxist-Leninist law of unity of opposites in observing the socialist society, put forth the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and laid down for our Party the basic line for the whole historical period of socialism. For the purpose of upholding the political and economic interests of the dying bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes on the decline and of realizing their criminal plot in vainly attempting to topple the proletarian dictatorship and restore capitalism, the ringleaders of the revisionist line, such as Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and other people of their type, like the reactionary classes in history, also adopted the doctrine of the Mean as an important ideological weapon for opposing the proletarian revolution, the proletarian dictatorship and the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and for opposing the Party's basic line for the whole historical period of socialism.

Back in the period of democratic revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i had vociferously talked about "going beyond and not coming up to" in his big poisonous weed, "Why Do People Make Mistakes" and taken Confucius' doctrine of the Mean as his philosophical creed. When we carried out socialist transformation in the field of ownership and on other fronts under the guidance of the Party's general line for the transition period, Liu Shao-ch'i hurriedly cast forth the slogan of

"in struggle for the consolidation of New Democracy" to oppose the transformation of the system of ownership. He nonsensically said that "the question of socialism is a thing of the future, and it is too early to talk about it right now," and that "the premature practice of nationalization and collectivization runs counter to the interests of the great majority and progress." He also opposed reforms in the cultural field and said that "we must not be too impatient and carry out theatrical reforms to the excess," and that "we cannot carry out reforms prematurely and makes a mess of our reforms." In saying "we cannot carry out reforms prematurely," "we cannot carry out reforms to the excess" and "we cannot make a mess of our reforms," he actually meant to forbid reforms, forbid qualitative change and forbid progress. In other words, he used the doctrine of the Mean to resist the general line of the Party for the transition period and to oppose socialist transformation in a vain attempt to preserve forever capitalism in town and country.

When the great leap forward was carried out by the people of the whole country under the guiding light of the Party's general line of building socialism in 1958, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao hurled abuses to vent their hatred of the great leap forward. Liu Shao-ch'i attacked the great leap forward as "crazy" and "too drastic and at fault." Lin Piao attacked the general line of the Party, the great leap forward and the people's commune as deviation to the "Left," "losing propositions" and "reckless actions based on illusions." They loudly cried for beating a retreat. "The retreat made must be far enough not only in the industrial field but also in the agricultural field, including the fixing of output quotas based on the households and independent operation." They vainly attempted to use "going beyond and not coming up to"--the reactionary philosophy of the doctrine of the Mean--to resist the Party's general line of building socialism by going all out and aiming high to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results, to oppose the great leap forward in building socialism, and to create counter-revolutionary public opinion for their gang to practice restoration and turn back the wheel of history.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the struggle was even more violent. The great proletarian cultural revolution was carried out under the guidance of the basic line of the Party for the whole historical period of socialism, and constituted a great practice of the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The great proletarian cultural revolution struck a heavy blow at imperialism, revisionism and reaction in the international arena and the reactionary forces of the landlord and bourgeois classes at home. It struck a heavy blow at the old ideology, old culture, old customs and habits of the exploiting classes.

After the great cultural revolution, there emerged a series of newborn things of socialism. This was the most profound social reform. Like the representative figures of all exploiting classes, Lin Piao hated the great cultural revolution to the bone. He shouted that the doctrine of the Mean was "rational," and maliciously attacked the great cultural revolution. He attacked the newborn things emerging in the great cultural revolution and painted the excellent situation as a mass of pitch darkness. He spread the reactionary theme that things were not as good today as in the past, and took the doctrine of the Mean as a theoretical prop for him to engineer a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat for launching a counter-offensive and settling accounts in the reverse against the great proletarian cultural revolution. It can be seen that during the socialist period, the doctrine of the Mean has become the reactionary ideological weapon of the bourgeois reactionaries for opposing the basic line of the Party and the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in their vain attempt to restore capitalism.

However, the objective laws governing the development of history are independent of the subjective will of such renegades and traitors as Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. The reactionary philosophy of the doctrine of the Mean

cannot check the forward movement of history. "In man's world seas change into mulberry fields." With revolutionary leaps coming one in the wake of another, the reactionary philosophy of the doctrine of the Mean has again and again gone bankrupt. As the great teacher Chairman Mao has asserted, "There are almost everywhere opportunists who want to stem the tide, but the tide can never be stemmed, and socialism march forward in victory everywhere leaving behind the stumbling blocks."

To be sure, the collapse of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao does not mean the end of struggle. Throughout the historical period of socialism, the struggle between reformation and conservatism, between revolution and restoration, between the forward march and retrogression will go on for a long time. The bourgeois reactionary forces always attempt to practice restoration and turn back the wheel of history. We must heighten our vigilance. We must firmly check the tide of conservatism, restoration and retrogression. We must use the sharp weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung's thought to thoroughly criticize and repudiate the doctrine of the Mean, the reactionary thought of Confucius and the way of thinking to honor Confucianism and oppose Legalism, and carry the socialist revolution through to the end in the realm of the superstructure. In 1956, Chairman Mao said, "Things are always developing. No more than 45 years have elapsed since the 1911 Revolution, but the outlook of China has already completely changed. In another 45 years, that is, in the year of 2001 when the 21st century will be ushered in, the outlook of China will make still greater changes." ("In Commemoration of Dr. Sun Yat-sen") In 1962 Chairman Mao also said, "The next 50 to 100 years, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical changes in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period." We oppose conservatism, restoration and retrogression. We advocate reform, revolution and social progress. We are convinced that no force can stand in the way of the great wheel of history.

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